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LOOKING TOWARD THE PROMISED LAND.

# THE IMMIGRANT

*An Asset and a Liability*

BY

FREDERIC J. HASKIN

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"THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT"

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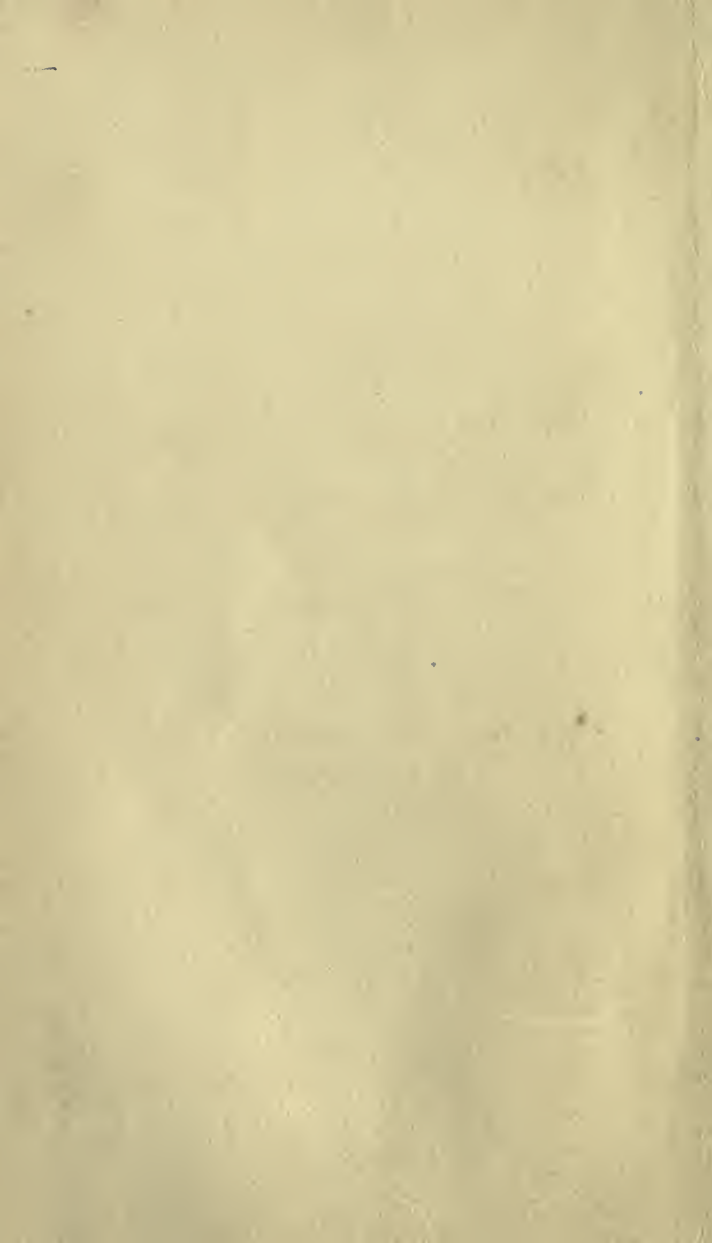
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# I

## PAST HUMAN MIGRATIONS

**L**ONG before Joseph induced his brethren to return for their father and bring him up into Egypt, and long before Moses afterward led them out from under Egyptian bondage, humanity was unceasingly on the move. After Babel and its confusion of tongues and the dispersion of humanity, we get our next picture of human wanderings from the Bible story when Terah took Abram and Lot and their wives and went forth from Ur of the Chaldees to go into the land of Canaan. They got as far as Haran and Abram's father, Terah, died there. Then came the message to Abram to "get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house, unto a land that I will show thee." From this land they travelled into Egypt and out again, and finally the possessions of Abram and Lot became so great that they could no longer get along together. So Abram said to Lot that they would separate and he would give him first choice of the direc-

tions they could go. And Lot chose the plain of Jordan, while Abram chose Canaan.

And so the history of early Israel is full of the wanderings of the shepherd patriarchs, their households, their herds, and their flocks. Called forward by green fields and pleasant watering places; lured on by the thirst for the peaceful conquests of unoccupied lands, and the martial conquest of alien peoples, they marched here and there, both before and after the exodus from Egypt. The Israelites were a restless people, and their constant seeking of new lands to possess and new opportunities to improve in those days was perhaps no more remarkable than the spirit of the Jew to-day who is willing to pay the price in the coin of suffering and isolation for getting on in the world, and for establishing a home and a competence for his children and those who come after them. He willingly wanders through the deserts of difficulty and prejudice if he can see before him the promised land of golden opportunities. And that is why he is the most widely dispersed and yet the most strictly isolated of all the races of humanity.

We do not know when man first began his career on the earth. We only know that, vast geologic ages ago, both the climate and the outline of Europe were very different from what



they are to-day, and that man lived there with animals long since extinct. We do know that when the curtain first rose on the stage of history it revealed in some favoured regions, such as the valley of the Nile, nations and civilizations venerable with age and possessed of languages and arts, and institutions that bear evidence of thousands of years of growth and development before the period of written history began.

According to the most authentic information gathered by the ethnologists, the earliest inhabitants of Europe were of the yellow race, which, broadly speaking, not only includes the Chinese and Japanese, but the Slavic peoples as well. They were also the first inhabitants of the New World. In Europe to-day live two small peoples who escaped the common fate of an overwhelming avalanche of civilization that swept up behind them—the Basques sheltered by the Pyrenees, and the Finns and Lapps of the far North. The polished stone implements found in the caves and river gravels of western Europe, the kitchen-middens upon the shores of the Baltic, the Swiss like-habitations, and the burial mounds all over Europe confirm the belief that close kinsmen of the Chinese were the first people of Europe. What happened in prehistoric times in the migrations

of humanity into Europe has been witnessed in the coming of the Hungarians and the Turks into Europe.

Although the Aryan race is undoubtedly the youngest of the great classes of humanity, it is, collectively, the most scattered. It includes the ancient Hindu and the modern Englishman; the ancient Roman and the modern Italian; the ancient Athenian and the modern Greek. Its descendants have peopled the New World, Europe, and Australia.

The original seat of the Aryan race seems to have been in the Hindu-Kush mountain region of northwestern Asia. In the less than five thousand years that have passed since the first pilgrims started out of those mountain valleys to conquer the world as they progressed, they have wandered all over the earth. Some tribes spread over the tablelands of Iran and the plains of India, and became the progenitors of the Medes, the Persians, and the Hindus. The tribes which entered Europe probably went there by way of the Hellespont, pushing themselves down into the peninsulas and founding the Greek and Roman states. The vanguard of the tribes which swept across middle Europe from Asia to the west were the Celts. After them came the Teutonic tribes, and the hard-crowded Celts were forced

out upon the westernmost edge of Europe, into Gaul and Spain, and across the Channel to the British Isles, where they are represented to this day by the Welsh, the Irish, and the Highland Scots. Behind the Teutons came the Slavs, and they pressed up against the Teutons as hard as the Teutons in their first days had pressed against the Celts.

From the time when the first venturesome tribes began to wander westward from the Aryan cradle-home until now, the wanderlust has possessed the Aryan peoples, and perhaps for four or five thousand years they have been moving forward and westward, and the great migration to America is but the continuing flow of the stream that began so many years ago.

We find the history of this Aryan migration written in the earliest books of the race. The Rig-Veda, the most ancient of books, is made up chiefly of hymns which were composed by the sweet-singers of the Aryan clans which, during a thousand years, marched steadily forward through the Himalayas and across the Indian peninsula to the Ganges. These hymns are filled with the memories of the long conflict of the fair-faced Aryans and the dark-visaged aborigines. They tell of the terrors of the mountain passes, speaking often of the great dark mountains through whose gloomy

defiles the early immigrants to India wended their way.

The people of eastern Asia seem to be the only great exception to the poetic statement that "westward the course of empire takes its way." China was first settled by a band of Turanian emigrants who headed toward the rising instead of toward the setting sun, and settled in the basin of the Yellow River, there to become the progenitors of the most populous nation human history has ever known. They found aborigines there just as Columbus found them in America and as the Aryans found them in India. Whence they came is beyond mortal ken. History stands silent and dumb, so remote were the days of their advent.

Every reader is familiar with the sweep of the tides of humanity to America's shores after the discovery of the Western Hemisphere by Columbus. But far behind that date there were other races which had come to America and which had erected civilizations of their own—civilizations whose few remaining ruins are mutely eloquent witnesses of the high order of intelligence of the people. Perhaps the most mournful diary entry ever made was written by a priest who accompanied Cortez into Mexico, where, in the name of religion, an attempt was made to wipe even the last

reminiscence of the Aztec civilization from the earth. He told of their histories, their literature, their medical science, their astronomical knowledge, and then related with pride and pleasure the joy he felt in seeing all their sacred books of knowledge placed in a huge bonfire and destroyed beyond all hope of resurrection.

Since then centuries have come and gone, and archæologists have been able to gather here and there small threads in the chain of evidence as to the nature of these civilizations. But the calendars of the Aztecs and the Mayas disclose even a greater knowledge of astronomy than Cæsar possessed when he ordained the Julian calendar, with the aid of the Alexandrian scholars, and greater than was at the disposal of Pope Gregory when he revised it. But certain it is that the ruins of Mitla, of Palenque, of Quiragua, of Yucatan, of Casa Grande, and of the Incas, tell of races which in their day could match their best contemporaries of Asia, Europe, and Africa.

That the emigrants who laid the foundations of these civilizations came from across the seas seems certain. We see the Toltecs migrating across the barren plains which stretch almost from the Rio Grande to the vale of Anhuac. Then they disappear, legend says through the



ravages of pulque, and after them come the Chichimec—Mongolian in features, Chinese in the forms of their civilization. Even to this day we may read on the pyramid of the sun, believed to have been erected by them, the same inscription one most often finds upon the ancient tombs of China—an inscription which means “longevity.” Whence they came or how, there is nothing but circumstantial evidence to indicate, but it seems probable from that evidence that it was but a continuation of the eastward movement of humanity that began when the Turanians settled in the valley of the Yellow River and founded the great empire of China.

Throughout hundreds of generations humanity has thus been moving here and there in search of the promised lands of better opportunities, nearly always migrating amid necessities and hardships, and often at the risk of life itself. Sometimes it has been the hand of oppression and tyranny that has given impetus to the tide; at other times it has been religious faith; now it has been a question of staying and starving or of going and enjoying plenty. But whatever the impelling motive, multiplied millions of people have traversed the lands and the seas of the earth in search of peace, happiness, and contentment.





to the  
people of the



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SLAV PEASANTS OF BOSNIA.

## II

### COMING TO AMERICA

**N**O more important or far-reaching question confronts the American people to-day than the problem of our present immigration. Each year approximately a million aliens—aliens in speech, aliens in customs, aliens in ideals, though kindred in desire for opportunity to better their conditions, kindred in craving for freedom, and kindred in the possession of the spirit of ambition—swarm to our shores. Guided into proper channels, surrounded by proper influences, this alien horde may be transformed into good American citizens and made to constitute a great political and economic asset to the nation. Fused into our national life in the melting-pot of Americanization, and in the process of leaving behind the dross of Old World ways, it may become part and parcel of our body politic, devoted to American traditions, espousing our ideals, and filled with our own best aspirations.

On the other hand, left to form itself into colonies which come into contact only with the

worst element of our native population, removed from the better influences of our national life, never learning our language, never adopting our customs, never sensing our ideals, and never catching the spirit of our civilization, it might become a permanent source of danger to our political well-being and a menace to the very life of the nation. The character of our immigration has changed. Formerly it came from northwestern Europe, and readily fused itself into our national life; to-day it comes largely from southern and eastern Europe, and it holds itself aloof, preferring to colonize rather than to be assimilated.

How to overcome this tendency toward permanent separation is the great problem of American immigration. It is largely this phase of the question which occupied the attention of the United States Immigration Commission during its four years of investigation. It will probably constitute the subject of important legislation during the Wilson administration.

Only sixty of the ninety-three millions of our population can boast of a native parentage. The remainder are foreigners or the children of foreigners. The immigrant army is received at the rate of a million a year, and assuming, as Congress has assumed, that it re-

quires five years to convert a foreigner into an American, there being sixty million native Americans, it follows that every twelve natives must convert one foreigner into an American. It is easy for twelve native American people to exert the Americanizing influence on one foreigner if they can get at him, but when he lives in a colony aloof from them it becomes a difficult task.

And under such conditions Americanization is not taking place as rapidly as was hoped, so far as the immigrant from southern and eastern Europe is concerned. Uncle Sam long ago said that the alien might become a citizen in five years, and the immigrant from north-western Europe usually goes after his citizenship papers as soon as the time limit has expired. But not so with the immigrant from southern and eastern Europe. Precious little he cares about naturalization laws. To begin with, he does not come to America to stay. He wants to make money and then go back home to live in comparative affluence. And two-fifths of those who come do go back home. They barely exist while here and when they return home they have money enough to make them Morgans and Rockefellers in their native villages. But of those who stay, a surprisingly large number care nothing for citizenship.

Statistics show that fully a third of those who have been here the necessary five years fail to take out citizenship papers.

But, although the immigrant constitutes the great American problem, he is also a great American asset. The inquiries of the Immigration Commission show what a tremendous factor he is and has been in our industrial life. In the iron and steel industries he and his children contribute seven-tenths of the labour. In the slaughtering and meat packing industry they give three-fourths of the labour required. They do seventy per cent of the work in the bituminous coal mines, and nearly three-fifths of that of the glass factories. Seven-eighths of the labour in woollen and worsted manufacturing is contributed by the immigrant and his children, and they produce nearly four-fifths of our silk goods, nearly nine-tenths of the cotton goods, and nearly nineteen-twentieths of the men's and women's clothing of the country. They make more than half of America's shoes, nearly four-fifths of its furniture. Half of the labour in making our collars, cuffs, and shirts is contributed by them, and five-sixths of the work in the leather industry is placed to their credit. They make half of our gloves, refine nearly nine-tenths of our oil, and nearly nineteen-twentieths of our sugar. Also they



manufacture nearly half of our tobacco and cigars.

There is room for considerable speculation as to what the effect of the war between the Balkan States and Turkey will be on the immigration of the immediate future. During the last decade we received nearly half a million immigrants from the countries affected, 216,000 coming from Greece alone. Will the decimation of the population through the present war and the expansion of the territory of the several countries through the conquest of the Allies result in a shifting of the tide of immigration from southern Europe to this new field? One may discover in the immigration figures for the years following the conclusion of the several European wars of the last half century a falling off of immigration in general and of that from affected territory in particular.

But changes in America have been even more influential than European fluctuations of economic and other conditions upon the tide of immigration. We may read the story of our panics and our wars, of our hard times and our prosperous eras, in the rise and fall of the immigrant tide. As a sunshine recorder tells of the hours of sunshine and the hours of a clouded sky, so the immigration figures tell the

story of the bright days of peace and prosperity and the dark days of panic, war, and industrial depression.

It was not until after 1840 that our immigration gave even a hint of assuming its present proportions. In that year it was still below the hundred thousand mark. But by 1850, beckoned hither by the great expansion of the opening Middle West, its numbers were swelled to 369,000 in a single year. Then came the panic of 1857 and an era of depression before and after that saw the figures fall from 427,000 in 1854 to 118,000 in 1859. It began to recover in 1860, but in the two years that followed it fell to a point as low as that of the early forties. Then it began to recover again, and by the end of the war reached a quarter of a million annually. By 1872 it passed the 400,000 mark again, but the hard times of the middle seventies forced the figures down from 457,000 in 1873 to 138,000 in 1878. By 1880 the stream had reached its high mark again, and then set a new record in 1882, with 786,000. Then it fell off to 338,000 in 1886, rising again to 623,000 in 1892, and once more falling to 229,000 in 1898. Then it rose again by leaps and bounds until it touched the million-mark in 1905. The panic of 1907 forced it down a half million, but in

1910 it recovered one-half of this loss. In 1911 it slipped back another quarter of a million, standing then at 878,000.

All of this proves that the real impelling motive of the immigrant who comes to America is to better his economic condition. Some say it is his love of liberty and freedom and his desire to escape oppression at home. But liberty and freedom were as much with us in 1909, when our immigration brought us only 751,000 souls, as in 1907, when it brought us 1,285,000. Nor is there anything to show that the countries of Europe placed any greater burdens upon the shoulders of their people in 1907 than in 1909, or that their economic condition was worse in 1907 than in 1909.

We know from our own experience how much bigger a salary of a hundred dollars a month looks to the man in the rural districts than to his brother who gets it in the city. To the former it may appear to be all that a man could reasonably desire; to the latter it does not begin to get him the things he got before he came to the city. When the people of southern and eastern Europe hear of wages of \$1.50 a day it sounds great. We are told that in the Balkan States 50 per cent of the people suffer from want of food in winter. Some see

here a permanent home, but more see an opportunity to gather together enough money to go back and live in comparative affluence in the land of their birth.]

In many an Italian village the chief personage is a man who adventured into America and came home with wealth. It is not in human nature that he should tell of the privations he suffered en route to his El Dorado, or of the submerged existence he led while accumulating those dollars, so few in America, so many in Italy. It is such successful adventurers as he that kindle the spirit of the Argonauts in the breasts of young men in southern and eastern Europe.

### III

#### THE "OLD" IMMIGRANT

**N**OTHING is more significant in the history of immigration to America than the change in the character of the stream of humanity that is coming to our shores. The bulk of immigration always has come from Europe, for to date nearly ninety-three out of every hundred immigrants arriving have come from that one continent. Prior to 1883 nineteen-twentieths of all our immigration from Europe came from the United Kingdom, Germany, Scandinavia, The Netherlands, Belgium, France, and Switzerland. As recently as 1883, only a little more than one-eighth of the European immigration came from eastern and southern Europe. To-day the immigration from that section has grown until it embraces more than four-fifths of all those who come. Meanwhile the countries which gave us our rich influx of home-builders prior to 1883 are not sending us many immigrants to-day.

The old immigration differed from the new



in many essentials. The former was largely a migration of people who came to become citizens, to acquire homes here, and to establish their posterity upon the land. They entered practically every line of activity in every part of the country. A large proportion of them were engaged in agriculture before they came and they went out as farm-labourers when they got here. But they were frugal and the labourer of yesterday became the farmer of to-day. They formed a very important factor in the development of all the territory west of the Allegheny Mountains. So rapid was the process of assimilation that the racial identity of their children was almost lost and forgotten.

The extent of the decline of immigration from northern Europe is emphasized by the results in various countries. Germany gave us eight times as many immigrants in 1883 as in 1911. Ireland gave us 76,000 of her people in 1883 and only 29,000 in 1911. Sweden's contribution to our immigrant population fell from 64,000 in 1883 to 20,000 in 1911, and Switzerland's from 10,000 to 3,500.

As stated before, the people who come from northwestern Europe come to stay. Among them only sixteen out of every hundred go back to their homes in Europe, while thirty-

eight out of every hundred from southern and eastern Europe return. The "old" immigration comes with its families, for more than two-fifths are females. The "new" immigration leaves the women folk behind, for only a little more than one-fourth of the arrivals are females.

The better condition of the immigrant from northwestern Europe, as compared with his more unfortunate brother in other parts of the continent, is revealed by the money they were able to show. The average "old" immigrant can exhibit forty dollars to the immigration inspector. The average "new" immigrant has about sixteen dollars when he lands. The educational advantages of the "old" immigrant are even more marked. There are more than thirteen times as many illiterates coming to us from the "new" immigration as from the "old." The "old" immigration measures up to all the usual tests of good citizenship in about the same ratio, when compared with the "new." And yet all authorities agree that in the "new" immigrant we have, as a rule, a diamond in the rough, a human being who is just as capable of transformation into a good citizen as his more fortunate brother from northwestern Europe. The process is simply a longer and more tedious one, and one to



which the immigrant does not lend himself as readily.

Northwestern Europe has responded faithfully to our demand for people to fill our lands and become a part of the bone and sinew of our country. It has in ninety-two years given us nearly seventeen million immigrants. Draw a line through Grand Forks, Sioux City, Omaha, Kansas City, and Hot Springs, and thence down the Louisiana-Texas boundary to the Gulf of Mexico, and the entire population west thereof is no greater than that contributed to us by northwestern Europe.

Germany has given us more immigrants than any other country, with the single exception of Great Britain. Nearly five million Germans have come across the water to become a part of this nation. The pioneers of the great German migration were the Mennonites, who in 1682 followed the path of the English Quakers. They were the first people in America to petition the abolition of slavery. They also were the first people in America to raise their voice against intemperance. They were soon followed by the Scandinavians, of whom it has been said that there is no second generation, since the children become so thoroughly Americans.

The coming of the "new" immigration has

caused the members of the "old" to move out of their vocations and residential quarters and on up into a higher sphere. Where once the Irish, the German, and the Scandinavian worked and lived, now the Greek, the Italian, the Pole, the Bohemian, the Austrian, and the Russian Jew are found. The German, the Irishman, the Swede, and the Norwegian have moved into better quarters and have taken up more attractive work.

The immigrant from northwestern Europe quickly becomes a citizen. More than nine-tenths of the Swedes and the Swiss entitled to citizenship papers have them, approximately seven-eighths of the Germans, Welsh, Danes, and Norwegians have taken them out, and four-fifths of the Irish, English, Scotch, and Dutch have cast their lot permanently with us. Compare this with the Allies in the Balkan-Turkish War, and the remarkable difference in the character of the aspirations of the two types of immigration will appear. Only one-eighth of the Servian immigrants have taken out citizenship papers, one-fifth of the Greeks, and a little more than a third of the Bulgarians. Seven-tenths of the southern Italians hold aloof from citizenship.

When will our affairs reach that situation where there is an economic balance and an

end to immigration to the United States? The late Professor W. J. McGee once declared that the soil of the United States has a sustaining power of 500 to the square mile. Assuming that one-third of our territory is waste land, we still, upon this basis, would have room for a round billion of people. Dr. McGee estimated that in three centuries we can reasonably hope to approach that number. But to reach that high population we would have to make heavier drafts upon Europe than Europe could bear. Assuming that we would need proportionately as many immigrants to expand from our present population to the billion mark as we needed to reach our present population, we would have to draw a draft upon Europe for 300,000,000 souls—a million every year for three centuries. And when we consider that in two generations the foreigner—both of the old immigration and of the new—becomes so thoroughly Americanized that he follows the tendency of the native American toward race suicide, it will be seen that the small-family inclinations of Americans will prevent as heavy contributions to the swelling population as “a billion in three centuries” would call for.

Many economists think the immigration from northwestern Europe has settled down to a basis that is about normal, and that we hence-

forth may count upon receiving about a quarter of a million of them during the average year. But there are others who say that the disappearance of cheap farming land and the filling of the factories with cheap labour from southern Europe will cut down the figures probably to half their present proportions. They believe that Germany is about the best example of what we may expect of the "old" immigration in the future; and Germany now gives us only one-eighth as many of her good citizens in a year as she did thirty years ago.

All students of the immigration problem agree that the passing of the "old" immigration accentuates the problems of the "new," and since it is becoming the latter or nothing, it behooves the nation to try to make the most of it, and to aid it to fill the place in future that the "old" has filled in the past. The consensus of opinion is that this is not so much a matter of the restriction of immigration as it is of Americanizing the immigrants.

## IV

### THE "NEW" IMMIGRANT

✓ **S**INCE three out of every four of our present-day immigrants come from countries where public education is unheard of, where popular participation in the affairs of the government is undreamed of, where dire poverty is the rule, it is apparent that the immigration problem is a grave one. And then, when we consider that two-thirds of this "new" immigration comes from the rural village and is dumped out upon our big centres of population, where vice surrounds it and fattens upon it, where it feels all of the worst effects of our civilization and none of its better effects, the wonder grows that the problem is not more serious than it is.

But that it is a problem serious enough as it stands is recognized by all who have studied our immigration. While the "new" immigrant, with his willingness to work in the dirt and the filth and the danger that are a concomitant, has made possible much of America's splendid industrial development, the very fact





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of his willingness to brave these things and to brave them at scant wages, has made him a liability to the nation. The man who will do these things is necessary to the industrial life of a nation; but the man who is content to do them and never to look up and beyond them may be a menace. If they come to America and start at the bottom of the ladder and gradually work up to better things, as the members of the "old" immigration have done, it augurs well for the future, and one of the most serious problems of the immigration situation is solved. But if they are content to live their own lives away and to commit their children to similar lives, it is evident that their assimilation must be uncertain and their value to the body politic a doubtful thing.

The economic distress that led the pioneers of the southern and eastern European countries to migrate was pressing. The average earning of a Slovak, for instance, during the harvest season was twenty-five cents a day, and in other seasons he was fortunate to get half that much, for work was as scarce as wages were low. If a load of wood were brought to town dozens would apply for the job of sawing it. A strong, muscular servant-girl who could scrub and wash, attend to the garden, and look after the cattle and sheep, besides helping with the

harvest, might get ten dollars a year with a big cake and a pair of shoes thrown in. Hard rye bread and an onion constituted the daily diet. Edward Steiner, himself an immigrant, and now one of the greatest of our authorities on immigration, tells of seeing a pig die of disease and being buried. According to law it was covered with quicklime and coal oil. Hardly had the burial been completed when the carcass mysteriously disappeared—for the peasants were hungry and meat was scarce.

And so it has been everywhere. Once the tide starts in a given country it keeps up, growing larger as it comes. A few Joshuas and Calebs travel to this new Canaan and then write back telling of the milk and honey they find here, or else they go back with the grapes of American gold, and after that the trail needs no blazing.

The rise of the "new" immigration is as remarkable as the decline of the "old." Thirty years ago there were less than 30,000 Austro-Hungarians coming to America annually; to-day the annual arrivals total about 200,000 a year. Thirty years ago 126 Greeks came to America as immigrants; last year 26,000 came. Italy's contribution to our population was six times as great in 1911 as in 1882, Russia's ten times as great, while Turkey sent

us 19,000 in 1911 as compared with 69 in 1882.

The attitude of the governments affected by the "new" immigration depends largely upon the degree of its permanence in America. Italy, for instance, is very glad to see its people come over, because they have demonstrated that they not only can come back, but do come back. In a recent investigation made by the Italian government into conditions in Sicily, the beneficial effect of the returning of the emigrant was declared in the strongest terms. It was said that greater than the benefit of any laws the government could pass, better than any training the government could give, were the benefits conferred upon the community by the returning emigrant. Not merely did he bring new wealth, a thing the community badly needed, but what was much more important, he brought with him the American spirit of intelligent enterprise which did much for his community. In short, the report indicates that the returned emigrant helps his community in Italy about as much as an agricultural school graduate helps the farmers of his community in America.

And so it is proving throughout southern and eastern Europe. The returning immigrant is carrying back American money, and along

with it American thought and American customs. Scarcely a village there is now without its returned immigrants. They bring American phonographs, American collars and ties, American taste for modern clothes. It is no novelty even in the remote mountain villages to hear an American talking-machine screeching American ragtime.

In every country the returning immigrant is somebody in his little community. He has made as much in America in a week as he made at home in several months, and his savings of a thousand dollars make him a nabob. The people believe his stories of American genius and achievement until he gets to telling about a forty-story building, and then their faith breaks down. They can believe that the Americans have a machine into which one can feed iron and wood and a wagon comes out of it finished; they can even believe that we have machines which will cut wheat, thresh it, grind the flour, and then make bread or cake out of it according to which button is pushed; but when it comes to a forty-story building, that is impossible.

The pitiful thing about the "new" immigrant is the fact that he usually hails from a rural village, where he worked on the farms and in the vineyards or herded sheep. Land-

ing in a big city, he is immediately beset by those who would exploit him. Off he goes to some industrial centre where he must live in places scarcely fit for human habitation, crowded with a dozen others in a shack scarce big enough for two. The work he finds is either filthy or dangerous. He goes into the bituminous coal mine, into the fertilizer factory, into the wood-working plant, into the slaughter house—everywhere that there is work too disagreeable or dangerous for the native American workingman.

The toll that is taken from these immigrants is fearful. With few women among them to cast a refining influence over them, they spend their time between working and drinking, as a rule, and saving what they can, with the day in view when they can return to their native land. In the vast majority of cases their condition for the time being is worse in America than it was in their native lands. But they sacrifice themselves to-day in America in order that to-morrow at home they may live in comfort. If they lived according to American standards their wages would barely suffice to keep them going. But they will half starve themselves and live in the worst of surroundings for the sake of going back home some day.



Where the women come along they usually keep boarding-houses, and their husbands compel them to do so as long as the wives are yet without the American spirit. But many's the time when there has been a Declaration of Independence proclaimed in one of these boarding-houses when the wife concluded no longer to play slave to her lord. The Slav has none of our consideration for his wife. He has a proverb that he is happy twice in his life; once when he marries and once when he buries his wife. His wife sings, "Love me true, and love me quick, pull my hair and use the stick." The Montenegrin says his wife is his mule. The Greek and the Italian, the Austrian and the Magyar treat their wives much better.

Three-fourths of all the "new" immigration is made up of men and boys. The Balkan States send only one woman to twenty-five men, and the same ratio exists with the Greeks. The ones who have womenfolk with them usually stay; most of the bachelors return. More than half the Croatians, Italians, Slovaks, and Magyars return to their native homes, and inquiries show that perhaps two-thirds of all who go never return again.

Among those who help to cut down the high percentage of returning immigrants are the Jews of eastern Europe. They come over

great numbers and precious few of them ever go back. They correspond to our "old" immigration in their desire to make America their home. The immigrant who returns takes his money with him; but he has left much more than value received when he does so. The entire list of Italians who build a tunnel under the Hudson River might trek back to Europe with their savings, but the benefit of that tunnel will continue throughout the years. Without their labour the mighty works of which we Americans boast so pridefully could not have been accomplished.

The comforting thought about the "new" immigration is that it has not much to unlearn. It is often easier to build a new house than to remodel an old one, and likewise it might be easier to make a good citizen of an illiterate villager from the lands of the Slovaks, the Italians, and the Finns than of their better educated brethren who must first unlearn some fixed notions.



## V

### WHY THE IMMIGRANT COMES

ONE needs look no further than the statistics of the ebb and flow of the immigrant tide to discover that the real basis of American immigration is more economic than idealistic. At all times in our history immigrants have come to America seeking an asylum from persecution of one kind or another—political or religious. But the vast majority have come because they thought America offered better opportunities to get on in the world. With the returning alien of the “new” immigration this is patent, but it is no less true of the one who comes and stays, else why should the tide rise so high in fat years and fall so low in lean ones?

It always has required some period of unusual economic distress or of religious persecution to start an important movement of immigrants to the United States. It was the Irish potato famine that caused Irish immigration to double in a single year and to be multiplied five times in as many years. In the mid-





dle forties conditions in Germany began to swell the immigrant tide, and in eight years the number of our German immigrants increased sevenfold.

But, as a rule, especially in the case of the "new" immigration, the number coming from any one country is very small at first. In 1870 only twenty Greeks were welcomed to our shores. Not until 1890 did the Greek arrivals reach the thousand mark. But during the succeeding twenty years the stream continued to grow until in 1910 it was more than a thousandfold greater than in 1870, and more than twenty times as great as in 1890. In 1870 fewer than three thousand Italians came to America. But the Italian immigration had increased to twelve thousand a year by 1880, fifty thousand a year by 1890, a hundred thousand a year by 1900, and to nearly a quarter of a million by 1910. Austria-Hungary gave us less than five thousand immigrants in 1870 and more than a quarter of a million in 1910. The Russian immigrant wave had barely started in 1870, and yet it has brought us nearly three million souls since then, while Austria-Hungary and Italy have each sent us more than three million in that time.

All European countries except Russia and Turkey recognize the right of their people to

come to America. Under the laws of Russia, citizens are forbidden to leave the country for a permanent residence elsewhere, but the fact that upward of three million of them have come to America in forty years demonstrates that even a despotic nation cannot stay the irresistible wanderlust of humanity when economic necessity forces it to move on. Turkey has the same sort of law, but it also is more honoured in its breach than in its keeping. When northern Europe bids farewell to its immigrants it knows that when once they reach their American port of entry they are lost to Europe forever. But with southern and eastern Europe it is different. Here the emigration of their people to America is looked upon as more in the nature of a movement of transient industrial workers, a fair percentage of whom will return. It is felt that the ones who return, plus the money and the experience they bring back, are worth more than the larger number who went out.

The present-day immigration embraces a comparatively small proportion of inhabitants of the larger cities. Only the Russian Jews form an exception to this rule, but that arises from the fact that they are compelled to live in the cities. The immigrant usually comes, not because he is unable to make a living at

home—for the possession of enough money to get here argues his ability to live at home—but in the hope of making a better living than is possible at home. He is simply a man with labour to sell and he sees a much higher price for it in America.

The direct causes of our immigration to-day are the letter writer and the returning immigrant. It is from them that the European peasant hears of this great land of high wages across the seas. Their messages tell of prosperity, of earning as much in a day, often, as the peasant earns in a week. There is scarcely a village in all southern and eastern Europe which has not contributed its share to the immigrant tide, and, in fact, scarcely a man or woman who has not a father, a brother, an uncle, or a cousin over here in America or who has been here. Thirty million dollars a year is sent back in American money orders as mute but indisputable witness of financial success in America. The whole neighbourhood hears about it when a money order arrives. For instance, when the Italian saves a hundred dollars and sends it home—that's five hundred lire in Italy, and five hundred lire buys a home. If some one sent you enough money from across the seas to buy a nice little bungalow, wouldn't your friends soon know



about it? And if your brother were to go to South America and send enough money back to his parents in a single year to buy a home, and with it a letter saying that other members of the family could do just as well and that he had places for them all, wouldn't you want to go? Well, that's exactly what happens when the "new" immigrant sends his money orders home.

In many cases a proud father and mother, when they receive such letters, pass them from hand to hand and let all their neighbours see the great prosperity of their son, until the whole community knows of his success in America. And there is one class that this news particularly appeals to—the boys with budding ambition. They are as eager to try their luck in America as is the American country boy to go to the city.

These letters tell little of the hardships and the privations endured to make saving possible. Come closer home. A country boy whose parents stand well in his community—his father an elder in the church, a justice of the peace, or a school trustee—goes to the city. At home the boy goes with the best people of his community, has his own horse and buggy, and is otherwise well fixed; but when he gets to the city and becomes a street car conductor or a



factory hand, do you suppose that his pride will let him tell of the little hall-room he sleeps in, of the cheap food he must live on, of the doors that are closed against him socially? No, he works on, hoping eventually to climb the ladder high enough to command in town the things he gave up when he left home.

So it is with the new immigrant—at best it is hard to give up the life of the little village with its adjacent poppy fields, its friendships, and all that, but when the immigrant arrives and gets to work, finding himself “only a Dago” or “only a Hunkey” in the eyes of the native American, fit only to be cursed and cuffed about, handled in the mines and the other places which use unskilled labour as we might handle cattle and horses, it’s a situation that the people back home need not be told about. The immigrant will bear it all because he must, denying himself every comfort to hasten the days when he needs bear it no longer. It is a terrible price he pays, but he pays it with a cheerfulness that is pleasant to behold when once you have looked through his rough and forbidding exterior into his heart.

When he is killed in the course of his work—and he has a monopoly of the dangerous and extra-hazardous trades—the verdict of the coroner’s jury may not be in so many words

that it was "only a wop," but it might as well be—for that is nearly always the effect of it. Perhaps fifty thousand such verdicts are rendered annually in the United States, but "they are tough, they don't mind such things," says many a mine foreman.

Next to the advice of relatives and friends who already have emigrated, the propaganda conducted by the steamship lines is the most important immediate cause of immigration from Europe to America. Remember how the railroads advertised when new territory was opened up here in the United States? See the appealingly beautiful descriptions of this new land flowing with the milk and honey of plenty? Here's a sample farm that was bought for ten dollars an acre and now is worth one hundred; and exhibit B is a man who came here with a thousand dollars and now is worth a fortune.

That's what is happening to-day in the immigrant centres of southern and eastern Europe. The immigrant passenger is a profitable animal to carry. Ten steerage passengers can be carried for what it costs to transport one first-class passenger, and the net profit is many times greater. So, in spite of the fact that the promotion of immigration is made unlawful here and of emigration unlawful abroad, what

cannot be done openly is done through local and sub-agents.

But let hard times come here. Then it is different. Everybody is admonished to stay at home and wait until it blows over, and the immigration figures show that the advice is heeded.

The panics of 1873 and 1893, and even that of 1907—which was not generally regarded as an industrial panic—caused an immediate falling off in the stream of immigration that without such financial depression gradually rises and rises, promising for 1913 a record-breaking tide. Whatever may be the toll of lives exacted by our crushing age of steel, there is not the slightest fact upon which to predicate the prediction that Europe will any time in the near future cease to furnish “wops” in plenty for the sacrifice.

## VI

### CONTRACT LABOUR AND INDUCED IMMIGRATION

ONE of the classes of immigrants that the government desires to keep out of the United States is made up of labourers who come by contract, or who have their passage paid. A law prohibiting the entry of such immigrants was passed in 1885 and has been strengthened by later amendments. The first weakness was found in the lack of provision, of machinery for the enforcement of the law. The first amendment gave the Secretary of the Treasury the right to exclude such immigrants, and the second amendment, in 1888, gave him the right to deport any who were discovered here within a year after their arrival.

When the new immigration law was passed in 1907, it contained a broad provision shutting the doors of our ports to all who have been induced or solicited to come by offers or promises of employment or in consequence of either written, printed, or verbal agreements,

whether express or implied. It must also be shown that no organization of any kind whatsoever paid for the ticket or passage of the immigrant.

The law provides for the admission of skilled labour under contract, when such labour unemployed cannot be found here, and for the admission of professional people and personal and domestic servants. A penalty of one thousand dollars is imposed for the violation of the act, and it is to be applied to any person or organization prepaying transportation or assisting or encouraging immigration. Suit may be instituted by the United States, by any person for his own benefit, or by the alien affected. The issuance of circulars or advertisements in foreign countries inviting immigration renders the person or organization doing so liable to the penalties of the law, and the immigrant coming as a result thereof liable to deportation. An exception is made of the states, territories, and the District of Columbia. They may advertise their natural inducements to immigration. Steamship lines may announce their sailing dates and tell of the facilities they offer, but may not tell of the attractions of the United States.

It has been found to be one thing, however, to enact a law shutting out contract labour and



induced immigration, and quite another to secure an effective enforcement of it. The Commissioner-General of Immigration says it is exceedingly difficult to secure evidence that will convict the person or organization that plainly is surreptitiously evading the law. He finds it much easier to find the immigrant and deport him than to detect the agency that brought him in a specific violation of the statute.

The courts have been inclined to be liberal in their construction of the law, but woe betide the immigrant who permits it to leak out that he has a certain, definite job in sight when he lands. On the other hand, it is the almost universal opinion of the immigration authorities that hundreds of thousands of immigrants have a better idea of the jobs they are going to get than the law allows. A still larger number get here under direct and indirect violation of the law against solicitation of immigrants.

Large employers of labour have a smooth way of getting around the law. The prospective immigrant is not particular about having a definite contract for a job when he lands. All he cares for is a reasonable assurance that there is work in sight. All the employer has to do is to let it be known around his plant that he needs more labour and that he will give employment to the relatives and friends of his

*against*



employees when they come. Letters by the score are sent back to Europe, some containing money for tickets for relatives, and all containing the information that a job is in sight. The next steamer brings a goodly number of immigrants in response. How can the officials of the government detect or punish such violations of the spirit if not the letter of the law?

Then there is the immigrant banker, the immigrant grocer, the immigrant saloonkeeper, and their like. They want more immigrants to come, for it makes their business better. They are in touch with steamship ticket-agents at home. A plant which needs more labourers only has to tell them, and straightway a stream of letters goes to Europe telling of the incessant demand for labour, and enclosing fictitious newspaper articles telling of the fine living conditions, the good wages, and the like. Armed with these, the steamship agent in European labour centres can work just about as successfully as our own American railroad immigration agent worked in days gone by, although he must work surreptitiously.

To avoid difficulty with the immigration authorities the immigrants who come in this way are furnished with various and mostly fictitious addresses, and only the leader of the group, selected for his superior intelligence, has the

address of the real consignee, who usually is an immigrant banker or saloonkeeper.

Of course the people who are determined to evade the law know its ins and outs, and they are always careful to make their offers and promises in such a vague way that they could hardly be held by the courts to be really offers and promises, and the Immigration Commission admits that they are probably not actually violations of the letter of the law.

The operations in behalf of emigration in southern and eastern Europe are not carried on for the purpose of assisting the emigrant to establish a home in America nor to supply American employers with labour. Rather, they are simply for the purpose of getting steerage passengers for steamship lines. Nor are they desirous that these people shall come to the United States to stay. They prefer the kind that come back, for that means two steerage fares instead of one.

One of the most effective of the promoters of immigration is the travelling labour agent. He is a common labourer himself, and frequently travels back and forth between the United States and his native country. He is supposed to be a man who likes America so well that he is making it his permanent home, and who returns to his home country only to

see the "old folks." He tells all the natives he meets of the splendid opportunities in America, and draws an idealistic picture of conditions here. If his auditors are interested and would go but for fear of the perils of the trip, he readily assures them that on such and such a day he will be going back himself, and will be glad to look after them en route. When they meet he is elected the leader of the group, each one paying him a certain stipend for his services, all the while ignorant of the fact that the steamship company pays him a commission on each immigrant he gets, and that the labour agents or employers in America will also pay him so much per head for his wards.

Another method resorted to by the foreign steamship agents is to scatter circulars of American land companies and labour agents, to inspire the discussion of immigration in the local papers, with a view to arousing the imagination of the potential immigrant. Then there are runners or agitators who go from village to village to stir up emigration enthusiasm and to coach prospective immigrants as to the answers they shall give when they reach the gates of America. They deliver lectures, and in some cases use moving pictures to tell of the wonders of America and the successes of their brethren here. Often prominent citizens,

social leaders, and even lesser government functionaries are sub-agents of the steamship lines at a commission of so much per head for every immigrant started to the New World.

The steamship companies, it is charged, also act in collusion with the local money-lenders. An immigrant wants transportation to the United States but has not the money to pay for it; the money-lender furnishes him the ticket on credit and charges him a big price for it and a bigger interest until the debt is satisfied. The steamship company stands between the money-lender and loss.

The Commissioner-General of Immigration, Daniel Keefe, in his report for 1912, waxes indignant in contemplating this traffic in human freight by the steamship companies. He says, to say that the steamship companies are responsible for an unnatural immigration is not to state a theory, but a fact—a fact that sometimes becomes, indeed, if not always, a crying shame.

Contrast this attitude with that of the government during the Civil War when President Lincoln came to the conclusion that the only way to supply the need of labour to take the place of the men who had gone into the armies was to establish a contract labour system which would permit the importation of labour under

binding contracts to secure the return of the passage money. This law was afterward found to work much injustice and finally was repealed.

At one time the nations of Europe themselves took advantage of our hospitality to the incoming tide by using this country as a dumping-ground for their criminals. In 1866 a joint resolution was adopted by Congress stating that it had been ascertained that it was proposed in Switzerland to pardon a murderer on condition that he would emigrate to the United States, and that such action was regarded by the United States as unfriendly and inconsistent with the comity of nations, and authorizing all diplomatic officers to insist that such acts should not be repeated.



## VII

### IMMIGRANT RACES

ONE of the most interesting phases of the investigation of the problems of the great movement of humanity from Europe to the United States by the Immigration Commission, was its study of the races which furnish America with its immigrant population. This study shows something of the future possibilities of our immigrant tide, revealing the numbers of each race that have remained behind, the proportion that has come to America, and the probable future arrivals.

Upon some races we have made such heavy drafts that there are comparatively few more to come. Upon others we have made like heavy drafts, but their great numbers and their fecundity have prevented any material cutting down of the supply in sight.

Under the direction of Dr. Daniel Folkmar, a dictionary of our immigrant races was prepared for the Commission. It is the first work that ever has undertaken fully to measure the numerical strength and the geographic distribu-





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ITALIAN GIRLS.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

tion of immigrant races in the United States. Having done this it gives us many striking views of our immigration in its effect upon European peoples. We see in some cases, notably in those of the Slovaks and the Hebrews, that the supply is so small and the rate of immigration so large that it may terminate ultimately from the exhaustion of the stock. On the other hand, in the case of the Russians, the Germans, and the Italians, the visible supply is so great and its rate of recruitment so high, that we can draw from them indefinitely and in large numbers without seriously affecting the general balance.

In the preparation of the dictionary of immigrant races, Dr. Folkmar and his associates called in the best authorities in the country to check up and verify their work. Even then troubles were encountered. For instance, one of the great distinctions which ethnologists make between races of people is the shape of their heads. They are sharply divided between long-headed and broad-headed races, and the ethnologist measures the effect of the commingling of races by the changes in the shape of the head. Broad-headed races wear big hats and long-headed ones have long faces in profile.

It was stated by Dr. Folkmar and his asso-

ciates that some of the Greeks, rubbing up against other races to the north and east of them, had changed somewhat from the "long" to the "broad" head. Now, if you want to get a rise out of a Greek tell him that the Greek head is not so long as in the days of ancient Hellas. He prides himself upon his ancient ancestors. He wants to be considered genuinely Hellenic. The official title of his country now is the "kingdom of Hellas," and every subject of the Danish George, no matter how mixed in his race, styles himself a Hellene. When it was stated that the Greeks were more inclined to broad-headedness, it stirred them up, and the Greek legation took up the question and protested against such a base slander upon the people of Greece. But scientific fact cannot be changed by diplomatic representation, and the dictionary shows the Greek heads have been undergoing a change.

Some striking illustrations of the great movement of humanity to American shores are afforded by the investigations of Dr. Folkmar and his associates. For instance, we find that there are more Irish and their children in the United States than there are in Ireland. There are about five million in America as compared with four and a half million in Ireland, and they are still coming to us at the rate

of about thirty thousand a year. No other race of its size has contributed so largely to American immigration as the Irish. During the forty years following 1820 they gave us nearly two-fifths of all our immigrants, and since the beginning of 1900 have sent us approximately half a million of their people. The Irish tongue is rapidly going out of existence as a means of communication. It is said that there are fewer than five thousand people in Ireland who can read books in Irish; that not a single newspaper is published in Irish nor a single church service conducted in it. Only four people out of a thousand in Ireland cannot speak English, and they are mainly in the remote western part of the country.

The Jewish immigration to America has been vast in numbers and rich in material. They have come here as Moses led his hosts into Canaan, to found a home for themselves, their children, and their children's children, and all who have studied the immigration problem with profit concede that in the Jew we have secured one of the best elements in our citizenship. New York City alone now has a Jewish population more than ten times as great as that of all Palestine, and the United States as a whole has eight times as many as all Asia

together. New York has a million of them, which is one-half of America's Jewish population. During a period of fourteen years they have been coming to our shores at the rate of ninety thousand a year. The entire Jewish population of the world is placed at eleven million. Europe has eight million of these, and it is from them that our Jewish immigration mainly is drawn.

The total Czech population of Europe, which includes the Bohemians, the Moravians, and the Slovaks, is less than eight million, but we received nearly 500,000 in a single twelve-year period. Most of this was represented by the surprising incoming tide of Slovaks. Out of less than two million population they have given us nearly 400,000 in twelve years.

The wonderful military prowess of the people of the Balkan States—Servians, Bulgarians, and Montenegrins—during their war with Turkey focussed the attention of the world upon them. The Bulgarians are physically of one stock and linguistically of another. They are of Asiatic, or Mongolian, origin, yet speak a Slavic tongue. The Turks form only one-seventh of the population of European Turkey as it stood before the recent outbreak of hostilities, and practically all of central Turkey down to the Ægean Sea, except



a little strip along the coast, which was occupied by the Greeks, was populated by Bulgarians.

In industrial districts in the United States largely peopled by foreigners, one hears much about the Croatians. They are people who have relatives in the war with Turkey, embracing the Croatian, the Servian, the Montenegrin, the Bosnian, and several lesser peoples. They are coming to us at the rate of nearly thirty thousand a year, but the present situation in southern Europe is likely to wipe out the major portion of this immigration.

Germany has furnished the United States more immigrants since 1820 than any other single country, although the United Kingdom as a whole has done better than Germany, giving us nearly eight million souls as compared with Germany's six million. But German immigration has fallen off to a small fraction of its former proportions, and to-day more German immigrants are coming to the United States from Austria than from Germany itself.

During twelve years there came to the United States enough Italians to people five cities like Rome; enough Greeks to people two cities like Athens; more Poles than there are

in Warsaw; more Scandinavians than there are in Stockholm; more Magyars than in Kronstadt; and more Finns than in Viborg.

Italy's contribution to American immigration of nearly two and a quarter million souls in twelve years, stands out as a marked feature of immigration history. Nearly nine-tenths of this came from southern Italy. The people of northern and southern Italy speak such varying dialects that they scarcely can converse with one another. In some parts of southern Italy more than three-fourths of the people are illiterate. Bosco, the Italian statistician, admits that Italy leads all the nations in the number of crimes against the person. Niceforo, the Italian sociologist, declares that the inhabitants of northern Italy possess all the qualifications for good citizenship, but that the South Italian is an individualist having little adaptability to highly organized society. Yet Italians from the south who come to this country and who are not colonized with their own people, but who mingle freely with native Americans, rapidly become good citizens.

There are a dozen or more linguistic races which send immigrants out of eastern Europe in large numbers. The Poles gave us nearly a million immigrants in twelve years, the Lithu-

anians 175,000, the Ruthenians 150,000, the Croatians and Slovenians 335,000. All of these races are Slavs except the Lithuanians, who are the only people of the Lettic group in Europe.

The future historian, no doubt, will acknowledge a great debt to the painstaking students who are compiling from year to year the statistics concerning the racial characteristics of the flood of immigration into the United States. A century hence the student of this question will be able to determine with scientific precision exactly what is the result of the fusion of the nations in this republican melting-pot.

## VIII

### THE STEERAGE PASSENGER

**I**T is doubtful if anywhere else in the entire civilized world can such vile and disgraceful treatment of human beings in masses be found as on the majority of the steamships which carry our immigrants to us. The conditions which these people meet beggar description, and the official picture that has been painted of it is so startling that it could scarcely be accepted did it not find corroboration in every unofficial picture of the steerage that our best word-artists have painted.

One stands amazed that greed for gold could lead men to subject their fellow-beings to such conditions as the steerage passenger endures, according to the revelations of the Immigration Commission. The picture it draws is a careful one. The data were obtained by special agents travelling as steerage passengers on twelve transatlantic liners and from cabin observations of the steerage on two others. This was done in 1908, when the immigration reached a very low ebb. The Commission is careful to



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tell us that the information was obtained at a time when travel was at its lightest and the steerage at its best.

Three kinds of steerage are now recognized—the old, the new, and the combination of the two. The old brings the bulk of our immigration from southern and eastern Europe. It is unspeakably bad. The new brings the bulk of the immigrants from northwestern Europe, and it is all that can be desired. Between the two classes of ships are those which are being transformed from the old to the new. On these a difference of \$7.50 per ticket is the difference between decency and indecency, between a chamber of horrors like the Black Hole of Calcutta and comfortable quarters.

Heretofore the steamship companies have apologized for the filthy conditions of the old steerage by saying the immigrants were a piggish lot of people who would render the first cabin as filthy as the steerage if they were permitted; they also asserted that it was impossible to better conditions as long as “such cattle” peopled the steerage. But now we find, in the ship that has part new and part old steerage accommodations, that the immigrant in the steerage is not different from the remainder of humanity—he will be reasonably clean if he

has a reasonable chance. The Commission concludes that "there is no reason why the disgusting and demoralizing conditions that have generally prevailed in the steerage of immigrant ships should continue."

Let us glance at the Commission's typical picture of the old steerage. The investigator who painted it was a woman, who made the twelve-day voyage in the steerage travelling as a single Bohemian peasant woman. Before sailing all steerage passengers were supposed to be vaccinated. The women and men were vaccinated in separate rooms and an inspection card, stamped by the U. S. Consulate, certifying that they had been vaccinated, was given them. In her case not one of the three scratches had punctured the skin. She found that others had fared the same way.

The compartment in the steerage for single women she describes as better than those for other steerage passengers. The bunks were arranged in tiers, each having a straw mattress covered with a slip sheet. A small blanket was the only covering provided. There was no pillow; a life-preserver under the head of the mattress was the substitute. It was practically impossible to undress properly for retiring, because of lack of privacy and insufficient covering. When the steerage is full, each pas-

senger's private space is limited to his bunk alone. It must serve him at once as sleeping quarters, clothes closet, baggage-room, kitchen, pantry, and what not. There is not a hook upon which to hang clothes, not a receptacle for refuse, not a cuspidor, and no convenience for use in times of seasickness.

There were two washrooms, used indiscriminately by men and women. One of them was 7 by 9 feet, with ten faucets of cold water along two of the walls. The wash-basins resembled in size and shape the ordinary stationary laundry tub. They had to serve as wash-basins, dishpans, laundry-tubs. In the other room the equipment was identical, except that there was a hot-water spigot that did not work, and a four-foot trough for dish-washing, with sea water, seldom hot, from one spigot.

Many of the passengers made heroic efforts to keep clean. It was forbidden to bring water into the sleeping compartments for washing purposes, but even when the women rose early and carried in a little water in the soup-pails, as soon as they were discovered they were brutally driven out by the stewards.

The law requires that each immigrant shall be furnished with all the eating utensils necessary. They are each furnished with a work-

ingman's dinner-pail, a spoon, and a fork. Each immigrant must care for his own pail, and as a rule has nothing but cold salt water with which to wash it throughout the entire trip. The pails are so cheap that usually the salt water rusts them and makes them unfit to use before port is reached. Again the law requires that tables shall be furnished for the passengers to eat upon, but these are only long single board affairs usually in a part of a steerage sleeping compartment not used on that voyage for bunks. All of the foul smells from the sleeping compartments come unobstructed into these improvised dining-rooms and drive the passengers to the open deck.

The investigator says that one morning she wished to see if it were possible for a woman to rise and dress without the presence of men onlookers. She waited her chance, and although the breakfast bell rang at 6.55 and she was ready for a meal at 7.15, the steward warned her not to come so late again, and gave her only a piece of bread. The meals that were served were bad in quality and preparation, and more than half of the food was thrown into the sea. The daily inspection of the immigrants was a farce. They were assembled and had their inspection tickets

punched six times, covering six days. From the time the women went on board until they landed they did not have one moment's privacy. Not one young woman in the steerage escaped attack. The investigator herself was among these, and yet the steerage officials made no effort to punish the offenders. Some resisted for a time and then weakened; some fought with all their physical strength. Two refined Polish girls fought with pins and teeth. The atmosphere is described as one of general lawlessness and total disrespect for women, which naturally demoralized the women after a time.

Summing up, the government investigator says that her life during those twelve days was passed in a disorder and in surroundings that offended every sense. The vile language of the men, the screams of the women defending themselves, the crying of the children wretched because of their surroundings, and practically every sound that reached the ear, irritated beyond endurance. There was no sight before which the eye did not prefer to close. Every impression was offensive. Worse than this was the general air of immorality due almost wholly to the improper, indecent, forced mingling of men and women, who were total strangers and often did not understand a word of the same language.



Contrast this terrible picture of conditions that cry to heaven for remedy, conditions that apply on steamships carrying perhaps two-thirds of our immigrants—contrast it with the picture of the new steerage, where the people are given staterooms, where practically everything is on a simplified second-cabin basis, the floors kept scrupulously clean, ample toilet facilities, separate for the sexes, are provided, where clean towels, clean napkins, and clean bed linen are furnished, where satisfactory food is supplied, where the wants of the sick and of the children are looked after, where women travelling alone are safe and not the prey of both crew and male passengers, and the difference is astonishing—and yet the difference in price on ships that are only partially converted from the old to the new steerage is only \$7.50.

How long the United States will permit the major portion of its prospective citizens to make their voyage to America under such conditions as the Immigration Commission says are typical of the old steerage no one can definitely foretell, but the indications are that these disclosures will result in prompt action by Congress. The travels of the agents of the Commission in the steerage seem to have been the first time that the government ever



has studied the steerage question in a first-hand way. Perhaps ten million American immigrants have received such treatment as the Immigration Commission found to exist—and millions of them fared worse than that.

Of course there is the defence based on the assumption that each immigrant is a free agent; that he comes of his own accord; that he is content because he will cross again and again under the same circumstances. But in this day of enlightenment few persons not wholly blinded by greed will justify on any grounds the cruelty, the indecency, the utter horror of the old steerage. The fact is proved by those steamship lines that are installing the new type of steerage accommodations.

## IX

### LANDING AT ELLIS ISLAND

**N**O cabin passenger ever sailed through the Narrows and beheld the Statue of Liberty without feeling a thrill at the sight. If it were not the thrill of patriotic devotion to his native or adopted land, it must be a thrill of pleasure at being safely across and with a chance to set foot on solid ground so soon again. But, if the sight of the goddess stirs the cabin, what must it mean to the steerage? To the steerage a new world is dawning and a week or more of an earthly purgatory ending. Dr. Steiner, the eminent immigration authority who has carried his gospel of kindness into many a steerage, himself acknowledges that often he has tried to overcome the deep despair of the steerage by reminding its people that though it seems like hell, there is a heaven beyond. He says that it is not easy to travel in the steerage; not because there is not room enough, or air enough, or food enough, although that is all true; but



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ROOF GARDEN FOR IMMIGRANT CHILDREN AT ELLIS ISLAND.



because it is hard to believe down there that the God of Israel is not dead.

To the immigrant Ellis Island is an ordeal. The "man at the gate" is a big giant who can speed him through or crush the life out of his hopes in an instant. A thousand lies, some useful, some useless, and some unnecessary, are prepared in the hope that they will help in the navigation of the tortuous channel of admission to America. Passing quarantine and the customs officials as the ship comes up the bay, it is warped into its dock, and when the last cabin passenger has gone ashore the steerage people are put into barges and towed away to Ellis Island, where final judgment awaits them. Their tickets are fastened in their caps, or pinned to their clothes, and their bills of lading are in their hands. When they enter they are lined up in long rows, with two doctors for each row. They must walk down a narrow lane made by rows of piping, with an interval of twenty feet between them. As they approach, the doctors begin to size up each immigrant. First they survey him as a whole. If the general impression is favourable they cast their eyes at his feet, to see if they are all right. Then come his legs, his body, his hands, his arms, his face, his eyes, and his head. While the immigrant has been walking

the twenty feet the doctors have asked and answered in their own minds several hundred questions. If the immigrant reveals any intimation of any disease, if he has any deformity, even down to a crooked finger, the fact is noticed.

If he is so evidently a healthy person that the examination reveals no reason why he should be held, he is passed on. But if there is the least suspicion in the minds of the doctors that there is anything at all wrong with him, a chalk mark is placed upon the lapel of his coat. After passing the surgeons who examine their health tickets and their bodies, the immigrants next encounter the one who examines their eyes. With towels and antiseptic solutions by him, the surgeon rolls the eyelids of the immigrants back on a round stick resembling a pencil. He is looking for trachoma. Those discovered to have it are sent away for deportation.

The line moves on past the female inspector looking for prostitutes, and then past the inspectors who ask the twenty-two questions required by law. Here is where the lies are told. Most of the immigrants have been coached as to what answers to give. Here is an old woman who says she has three sons in America, when she has but one. The more



she talks the worse she entangles herself. Here is a Russian Jewish girl who has run away to escape persecution. She claims a relative in New York at an address found not to exist; she is straightway in trouble.

The surgeons mark about half of the immigrants with chalk marks as they file by, and those so marked go to another pen for further examination. Families are torn asunder, and no one has time or opportunity to explain why. Mothers are wild, thinking that their children are lost to them forever; children are frantic, thinking they will see their parents no more. Husbands and wives are separated and for hours they know not why or how.

After the immigrants have passed the inspectors comes the real parting of the ways—the “stairway of separation.” Here are three stairways, one leading to the railroad room, another to the New York room, and another to the ferry.

To those who have passed muster in this ordeal the way is now open. They are inside the gate and their troubles are over. But here is a room where those go who have been given tickets marked “S. I.—Special Inquiry.” This takes them to an iron barred gate behind which sits an official who admits them and has them distributed to the various detention

rooms. Sometimes two thousand may be detained at a time. Conditions are admittedly bad in some of these rooms, due to overcrowding and inadequate facilities, but all agree that the officials and those under them do all in their power to ameliorate these conditions.

Those detained are given further examinations. Such as are able to pass muster under these examinations are permitted to pass through the gates. Those who are temporarily ill are sent to the hospital. Those who are possibly deportable are given further examinations by special inquiry boards. Those to whom the gates still are barred after these inquiries, have the right of further appeal, but reversals are not very frequent.

Does the law work hardships at our immigration stations? Yes, everybody admits that. Sometimes men are turned back for trivial causes. Four Greeks were going to Canada, via New York. The Canadian law requires each immigrant to have twenty-five dollars. They had \$24.37 each. When they found their funds short they wanted to come into the United States, but they could not. A child is taken down with a contagious disease and is carried to the hospital. The mother must wait and cannot even see her child. A man

and his son have had their money stolen from them in the steerage; they lack twenty dollars and must go back. And so the sad tale goes on every day.

But could the immigration authorities be vested with discretion in the matter? Then sixteen thousand debarred aliens a year would lay siege to their sympathies and each would regard his own as a special case, and innumerable difficulties would result. All authorities agree that the system in vogue is just about as humane and as free from hardships as any system that might be devised, and that would maintain the interests of the nation as paramount to the interest of the individual immigrant. It is, however, equally agreed that Ellis Island is often overcrowded and needs enlargement and that many minor changes in the immigration laws ought to be enacted.

Sixteen thousand immigrants debarred from the United States in a year! Half of these are debarred because they probably would become public charges. Some 2,300 were deported upon surgeons' certificates showing that they possess mental or physical defects which might affect their ability to earn a living. Another 1,800 were sent back because they had loathsome or dangerous contagious diseases, while

1,333 were denied admission because they were contract labourers.

Ellis Island receives about two-thirds of all the immigrants that come to America. It is really a plant built on three islands with causeways connecting them. Often more than two thousand immigrants must be detained over night, and of course there is much congestion at such times. To shelter and feed two thousand people over night is a large task. Some days as many as five thousand immigrants arrive, and to dispose of them means only two minutes to each immigrant; consequently, the inspectors must work rapidly and send every doubtful case to detention for further investigation. The next day may bring only a few hundred, or it may be a foggy day and none will come; then the detained ones can be given more attention.

The "old" immigration is usually easy to inspect. Few of them come who are not eligible, for our immigration laws are understood in northwestern Europe much better than in southern and eastern Europe. Five thousand "old" immigrants can be put through easily in a day, while with the "new" immigration such a task would represent very hard work and very long hours.

A contract restaurant is maintained at each important immigrant station, where food can be had during detention, and where it is put up in boxes for those going on railroad journeys. These boxes cost from fifty cents to a dollar.

Special immigrant trains are made up to handle those who travel in large companies. At other times they are furnished special cars, while often they must travel, men and women, in the smokers of regular trains. The immigrant gets a slightly cheaper rate than first class, but they usually get a proportionately poor service for their money.

Ellis Island, with the tragedies of detention and deportation that must be enacted constantly if the laws are to be executed, is a great theatre where every quality of human nature is at play. Here one beholds a happy reunion—wife has come to join husband after waiting for a year until he could get money to send for her. There is another wife to join her husband, but she has trachoma and cannot be admitted. Here is a painted woman trying to lie herself through the gate. There is a boy who gets tangled up in the forty questions put to him, but finally gets through. Here are hundreds who have failed on their first round to



pass muster, and they are gathered in a great room, some hoping and praying, some weeping and fearing, some cursing their fate. But even then, we admitted 838,000 during the fiscal year 1912 and deported only 16,000. /

Not at any other place in all the history of nations have been enacted so many silent dramas of the human heart as at Ellis Island. It is the door of hope to millions of European peasants who are saving their copper coins against a chance of entering there. It is the gate of new life to millions of adopted Americans who remember that there they were freed of countless terrors that their fathers deemed unescapable. And it has been the seat of doom to tens of thousands who have been turned away from its portals.



## X

### IMMIGRANT HOMES AND AID SOCIETIES

**I**MMIGRANTS arriving in this country usually expect to go to some relative or friend or to have some relative or friend to meet them upon arrival. But it frequently happens that these relatives or friends fail to meet them or to send funds for the continuation of their journey. In such event the letter of the law would require the immigrants to be deported, since, being penniless, they are likely to become public charges. But where there are trustworthy persons or organizations who will undertake to care for them until they find employment or are brought into touch with their relatives or friends, the immigrants may be discharged to them after five days' detention. The immigrant, under these conditions, is given his preference of being discharged to the agents of the homes and aid societies or of being deported. Usually he takes the chance to be thus discharged.

In order to afford such immigrants the op-

portunity of landing and to assist other immigrants to avoid the hundred and one dangers of being turned adrift in a big city where no one else tries to protect them from the innumerable scoundrels who would rob them and lead them into vice, many churches and philanthropic organizations have established these immigrant aid societies and homes for the care of the immigrants until such time as they can get along themselves.

Some of the societies receive annual appropriations from various European governments for their services to the immigrants from those countries. Others are supported by people of certain races for the benefit of immigrants of their own nationality. In one year nearly fifteen thousand immigrants were discharged at Ellis Island to homes and aid societies. The law does not recognize the missionaries who represent these organizations, but at each port the Commissioner of Immigration gladly cooperates with those whose places are carefully conducted. Each home or society must file application for the privilege of having immigrants discharged to it, and its duly accredited agents are given annual passes to the immigration station.

These societies and homes, when properly conducted, undoubtedly do an infinite amount

of good. Particularly are they of immeasurable benefit to the women and girls who come friendless to America. But the investigation of the Immigration Commission revealed the fact that many of them were not properly conducted, and that the very conditions they sought to remedy were promoted by them.

The Immigration Commission a few years ago investigated the whole question of these societies and homes with great care. It sent women agents interested in social settlement work into the field, disguised as immigrants and as foreigners seeking work, with some others as applicants for immigrant help of various kinds. The results of their investigations were a revelation to many. At some ports it was found that the commissioners were indifferent to the qualifications of the representatives of the various homes and societies; at others they seldom investigated the character of the homes and societies making application for permission to do the work; while at a few they were as careful as the limited powers of investigation permitted them to be, and yet at all the ports there were workers whose motive was, "revenue only." There were homes and societies which did not properly safeguard the interests of the immigrants because of carelessness in placing them, and even

“homes” where an absolutely immoral atmosphere was encountered.

Missionaries and home and society agents assist arriving immigrants in various ways. They write letters for them, help them to get into communication with friends and relatives, trace lost baggage, escort them to their destinations, send their names and addresses to those who can look after them if they are going to other cities, appear before the boards of special inquiry in their behalf, and make their appeals to the Secretary of Commerce and Labour in the event it appears that the decision of the commissioner ought to be altered. When they do all these things in the true missionary spirit they are rendering an invaluable service to the immigrant. But, unfortunately, some of them do not. In spite of the watchfulness of the immigration authorities some of these missionaries disgrace their profession in many ways. Some have been known to come to the stations drunk, some take money for their services and transform themselves into petty attorneys, while others have been known to take advantage of helpless women. But, for the most part, the immigration missionary is upright and worthy.

Some of the homes to which the missionaries send immigrants are all that could be desired.

The surroundings are clean and wholesome, the moral atmosphere is excellent, the food is good, and the charges are no greater than the pocketbook of the immigrant will allow. Often they charge only sixty cents a day for board and lodging, and even less when it is by the week. But more important, in such places the managers are very careful that the women and girls shall be placed where there is a good moral atmosphere. None of them is allowed to go to places which cannot give satisfactory references, and a card index with a follow-up system keeps the home in close touch with the immigrants placed until they become firmly established.

Other homes are as careful about the conditions with which the inmates are surrounded while they remain there, but are distinctly careless in the matter of placing the women. They would not wittingly send a girl out to act as a servant in a disorderly house, and yet by failure to investigate requests for help, frequently they do so. Still other homes did not hesitate to send girls to such places, even after it was explained to them that such was the nature of the places. Of forty-four homes investigated half of them did not draw the line on sending girls as servants to such houses. The missionaries made little better showing



than the homes in this regard. Twenty-one were asked for servants for disorderly houses; eleven supplied them. Only three refused point-blank to do so.

Some of the aid societies refer immigrants to employment agencies. Of twenty-two such agencies that were licensed, only five failed to furnish servants for applicants from disorderly houses. Practically every unlicensed employment agency unhesitatingly furnished such help.

In some of the homes men connected with their executive staffs were guilty of immoral advances toward the investigators as well as toward other inmates. The method of the investigation usually was for one investigator to get admitted to the home and to stay there for several days. Then another investigator would come and apply for a girl, explaining that she was wanted as a servant to tend the door in a manicure establishment that was enjoying police protection, and which was run in connection with a lodging-house for transients. Then the first investigator would usually be called in and asked if she wanted the job. She was usually admonished that if she took it she should just close her eyes to what went on. It was while the boarding investigators were staying at the homes that improper



advances were made. In one instance an attempt to commit a criminal assault upon one of the investigators was made.

Out of a long list of names and addresses of immigrant women who had been placed through eleven homes, the investigators selected 228 for following up. It was found that only 178 of those immigrants had gone to the addresses given. At fifty addresses given no girls had ever been sent for or received, while there were no such addresses in eight cases, and three were the addresses of disorderly houses.

The conditions revealed by the investigations of the Immigration Commission's agents were made known to the immigration authorities at the several ports where these abuses were found to occur, and it resulted in the confirmation of the results of the investigation and in proof that the investigators had performed their work carefully and conscientiously, and had always tried to stay on the conservative side of the facts in stating the results. The immigration authorities, as a result, communicated these findings to the immigration societies and homes, and since then the most diligent efforts have been made, both by the immigration authorities and by the immigrant homes and societies, to weed out the unworthy

and to make sure that hereafter proper care shall be taken that young immigrant girls that are placed by the organizations shall be placed amid wholesome surroundings. In justice to the spirit of helpfulness and philanthropy through which immigrant homes and societies have been established and are maintained, it is to be said that the abuses that have been found have arisen through lax supervision, which has been more the result of confidence in managements which have proved themselves unworthy of it, rather than through any indifference to the fate of the immigrant girl.

It is to be added that the disclosures that were made when the Immigration Commission made its investigation has resulted in a determination upon the part of the immigrant homes and aid societies which are honestly trying to help the immigrant that the conditions complained of shall not occur again. Where lax administration was found there have been house-cleanings, those who abused confidences have been banished from the work, and everywhere there has been a commendable determination to co-operate with the immigration authorities in bringing to their just reward those who, whether by laxity of administration, indifference, or criminality, have permitted immigrants whom they should have protected,

to be preyed upon by financial or moral vultures.

The high standards set by those homes which were all that such institutions ought to be, have been laid down as the standards to which all homes and societies and individual workers must measure up, and by a careful card-index follow-up system such as a few homes and societies formerly had, all of these institutions are now accomplishing the purposes for which they were founded—the protection of the immigrant from exploitation.

## XI

### DISTRIBUTION OF IMMIGRANTS

**I**T is quite generally agreed among statesmen and philanthropists that if the "new" immigration, which is flocking to our shores at the rate of three-quarters of a million souls a year, is to be a blessing and an economic asset to the nation, ways and means must be found whereby it may be distributed widely throughout the country—for then only can the digestive juices of American influence reach the entire mass and fit it for assimilation into the body politic. So long as it crowds into colonies and holds itself aloof in communities that never feel the touch of American customs and ideas, how can we expect it to become like us and a part of us?

And yet, that is what is happening right along. Three-fourths of our Russian immigrants are to be found in cities that have a population of twenty-five thousand and upward. More than half of the Italian immigrants, the Polish, the Bohemian, the Hungarian, and the Austrian immigrants gravitate



U. S. AND  
AMERICAN



to such centres of population. On the other hand, less than one-fourth of our native Americans are to be found in such cities, and the same is true of our Scandinavian immigrants. More than half of the great population of New York City is of foreign birth, and there are sections of the metropolis that are as foreign to America, as far as influences go, as are Warsaw, Naples, or Vienna. The list of American cities where the foreign population exceeds the native is a large one. There are some fifty cities where the population of foreign birth represents more than two-fifths of the total, and among these are some twenty where the foreign element is in the majority.

Every authority agrees that it is desirable to secure as many settlers on the land as possible, but there are some who do not believe in any other sort of distribution of immigrants except such as is created by the natural working of the law of supply and demand. The ground upon which they predicate their belief is that it will tend to reduce that kind of living and wages which they call "the American standard." One of those who holds this view is Commissioner General of Immigration, Daniel J. Keefe.

He asserts that many of the arguments in favour of the distribution of aliens other than

to plant them on the land are fallacious. He says that organizations struggling to solve the problem of putting the alien where he is needed, vary from those moved by purely business impulses to those which are "or pretend to be, patriotic or philanthropic in their purposes." They range, he adds, from combinations of ticket-agents, money-lenders, and labour agencies to state and municipal organizations "conducted bona fide and from high, pure motives." He further adds, however, that the latter "often incidentally produce some of the same effects as the selfish organizations."

In commenting upon the problem he says if it ever was feasible to devise a complete, efficient plan for the general distribution of aliens, it probably is now too late to stem the tide which has set toward certain localities, where alien nucleus colonies have been established, constituting new reasons why aliens are drawn to them; even though a certain number of aliens may be distributed, they will not remain where they are placed unless the arrangement coincides with their desires, and unless they are physically and mentally adapted to their new surroundings, as a large percentage of those who now insist on herding in the cities never will be; and that, viewed from a national standpoint, distribution tends to increase the

difficulties of immigration rather than to reduce them. He concludes that distribution will tend to increase immigration, and that this will in turn tend to drive down the wages of American workingmen.

There are many students of the problem, however, who take direct issue with Commissioner General Keefe, both as to his minor and major conclusions. They point out that the same fear was expressed when his own people began to come and continued to come to America, but that American wages are higher and American workingmen's standards of living are better than they were before. Likewise, they point out that nearly ninety per cent of the immigration from many southern and eastern European countries comes to us from the village and the farm, and that to say they are not physically or mentally fitted for anything else than to herd in congested communities is not a just statement.

It is further pointed out by those who oppose the conclusions of Mr. Keefe that neither Congress nor the Immigration Commission has agreed with him, but has taken the opposite view. Congress created a Bureau of Information for the purpose of collecting information concerning opportunities for immigrants and disseminating it among them with a view to

encouraging a beneficial distribution of immigrants. The main purpose was to co-operate with the several states in acquainting immigrants with their advantages.

The Immigration Commission likewise concludes that the reason the immigrant goes to congested cities is because he knows of no better opportunities elsewhere. It says that "a large part of the immigrants were agricultural labourers at home, and their immigration is due to a desire to escape the low economic conditions which attend agricultural pursuits in the countries from which they come. With no knowledge of other conditions, it is but natural, therefore, that they should seek another line of activity in this country."

It is pointed out that the thing to do is to plant the immigrant where he can secure a plot of ground and build a house on it, because there goes on most rapidly the process of Americanization. Go to Brown Park, Omaha, which has been improved by the Bohemians, Poles, and Lithuanians. What was a few years ago a rolling prairie is to-day studded with neat, well-kept homes, schools, and churches, having well-cultivated gardens and flowers, and conforming to the best American standards among wage-earners. Go to the Italian settlements in Rockland County, N. Y., Providence,

R. I., and Rosetta, Penn. There the immigrants have their gardens, no matter what the soil is, and sometimes in striking contrast with adjacent homes of the neighbouring Americans. The Poles on the abandoned farms of New England, the Italians on the swamps of New Jersey, and the Portuguese on Cape Cod, have shown what they can do under conditions that have driven out older Americans, have shown that they can rehabilitate worn-out soil and build up a competence in waste places.

The lowest wages paid in America go to the foreigner and the highest to the native American, and yet the investigations of the Immigration Commission into home ownership in cities reveal the fact that, while only 4.2 per cent of the native-born Americans of native parentage own their homes, more than 10 per cent of the foreign-born and native-born of foreign parentage own theirs.

A striking illustration of the need for some sort of a system of distribution of immigrants is to be had in a map prepared by Peter Roberts. He takes a United States map and draws a line from Atlantic City to the southeastern corner of Illinois. Then he draws another line from that point to the northwestern corner of Minnesota. The little slice of territory inside of this angle bears about the same rela-



tion to the whole United States as one slice of pie to a whole pie—it represents only a little more than one-sixth of the country's area; and yet, within that comparatively small territory, live nearly five-sixths of all the "new" immigration to America.

The work of the Division of Information of the Bureau of Immigration affords an interesting indication of what may be done in the direction of distributing immigrants, and of the interest immigrants themselves take in the work. More than thirty thousand applicants received information during the year 1911, and it is estimated by Chief Powderly that these applications represented at least a hundred thousand immigrants. The Division directs no skilled craftsmen, miners, or other underground workers. It simply gave them information as to places where they could settle in villages and towns where they could follow other lines of activity and avail themselves of garden plats and low house rent. The Division does not arrange contracts for employment, but simply gets a list of reputable employers who need help, and furnishes a medium through which the man who needs work can be brought into touch with the man who needs help.

In addition to this the Division gathers and disseminates information concerning the re-



sources, products, and physical characteristics of the various states, giving the immigrant the name and address of the state official in each state whose duty it is to encourage and aid immigration into each state. Its work has been highly endorsed by the Southern Commercial Congress and by the National Board of Trade, which also strongly endorsed the recommendation of President Taft that immigrant stations be established at one or more additional Gulf and South Atlantic ports with a view to turning part of the incoming tide away from New York.

## XII

### THE IMMIGRATION COMMISSION'S INVESTIGATION

THE investigation made by the Immigration Commission into all phases of the subject of immigration represents the most thorough and at the same time the most expensive inquiry into the migration of mankind that ever has been made. In 1907 Congress revised the immigration laws to some degree, but at the same time provided for future legislation by the creation of the Immigration Commission, which it directed to gather the facts upon which such new legislation should be based. The Commission was composed of three Senators appointed by the President of the Senate, three members of the House of Representatives, appointed by the Speaker, and three persons appointed by the President. It was given full power to investigate, and at the same time was supplied with unlimited funds, the law creating it providing "that such sums of money as may be necessary



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TWO ROUMANIANS.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

## IMMIGRATION INVESTIGATION 101

are hereby appropriated and authorized to be paid out of the 'immigration fund.' ”

The Commission decided to make a first-hand investigation rather than to act merely as a compiler of data already gathered. It investigated every possible phase of the question in Europe and America, going with the utmost care into the whole question of the causes and effects of immigration both at home and abroad. Upward of three years was consumed in the inquiry, and as a result a report covering forty-two volumes, or practically thirty thousand octavo pages, has been published. It is such a monumental work that it is doubtful if anybody will ever read it from A to Z. However, it has a two-volume abstract and index which digest the whole report, although there are many things in the full report that are of course referred to only in the briefest way in the big abstract.

The Commission did not finish its work until within a half-hour of the time the law required that the report should be filed. Representative William S. Bennet of New York desired to file a minority report, but declared he was prevented from so doing by the fact that the majority report was formulated too late to permit any elaboration as to his views and conclusions.

During its life the Commission spent \$790,-

ooo in its investigations. There were quite a few criticisms at the time concerning the long-drawn-out character of the investigation and the unusual expense incurred, but, considering the thoroughness with which the work was done, much of this criticism probably was not deserved.

When it came to investigating emigration conditions in Europe, six of the nine members, accompanied by a large staff, went to Europe in May and stayed until September. They visited Italy, Austria, Hungary, Finland, Greece, Turkey, and practically all other European countries. Conferring with American diplomatic and consular representatives, holding conferences with European emigration authorities, and going out through the immigrant-furnishing districts, they studied carefully the causes of emigration and its effects upon the countries from whence the immigrants come.

In studying the relations between the immigrant and various American industries use was made of a large corps of investigators. Data were gathered from the individual immigrant, the household of the immigrant, the employers of immigrants, and from local officials, organizations, and institutions. For instance, in gathering information concerning immigrants



in iron and steel industries, detailed information was received from 86,000 employés, and an intensive study was made of nearly 2,500 households, the heads of which were employed in these industries. The number of immigrants of each nationality, the number of their children, and the number of native Americans engaged in the industries were ascertained. The occupations of the immigrants engaged in iron and steel manufacturing before they came to America were investigated, while the weekly wages, the lost time, the average annual earnings, the family income, rents paid, number of people per sleeping-room, home ownership, citizenship, labour organization affiliations, illiteracy, and many other matters were inquired into.

Some of the investigations of the Commission were put to immediate and practical use. Its agents who investigated steerage conditions on transatlantic passenger ships were able to pick up pieces of information which, reported to the Bureau of Immigration, took the form of recommendations that abuses within the law could better be remedied by the steamship companies. The same was true of its investigation of the immigrant aid societies and homes. With the information placed in the hands of Commissioner Williams, at Ellis

Island, steps were promptly taken to debar a number of workers from the island and to require the immediate correction of conditions complained of in several societies and homes.

The Commission's investigation of the white-slave traffic was a very thorough one, and information was put into the hands of the immigration authorities which resulted in the deportation of many engaged in the traffic as well as many of their victims. Many other cases were brought to light which deserved prosecution, and the information obtained was placed in the hands of the United States District Attorneys in many cities, with the result that a large number of convictions were secured.

Perhaps one of the most interesting phases of the whole investigation had to do with the changes in bodily form of the descendants of immigrants. According to all race authorities the most permanent and stable of all the characteristics of human races is the shape of the head. All else usually may alter in a race, but it will continue to wear about the same kind of hats, and have just about the same style of long face or short face that it had before. But when the European is transplanted to American soil he undergoes a change. The round-headed east European Hebrew becomes inclined to

have a long head, while the long-headed south Italian gradually changes to a shorter-headed race.

Thus it will be seen that there is a tendency toward a uniform type, and it seems certain that just as soon as immigration in race-affecting quantities ceases to come to our shores we will evolve a true American type, a sort of composite European. Students are trying to solve the problems of type changes, which not only affect the shape of the head, but the colour of the hair, the age of maturity, and many other related characteristics.

As a result of its investigations the Commission made a number of very important recommendations to Congress, the majority of which have been incorporated in a bill vetoed by President Taft. It recommends that care be taken that immigration shall be such in quantity and quality that the process of assimilation will not be made too difficult; that general legislation on immigration should be based upon economic principles and business considerations; and that business expansion ought not to be permitted to lower the American standards of wages and living.

It specifically recommends that aliens convicted of any crime within five years of coming to America shall be deported; that no im-

migrant be admitted from any country having adequate police records who cannot produce a satisfactory certificate of character; that any alien who becomes a public charge within three years shall be deported. It says that in order that immigrants may be protected from exploitation, to discourage the sending of savings abroad, to encourage settlers on the land, and to secure a better distribution of immigration, the states ought to provide for the inspection of immigrant banks, regulate labour agencies, and co-operate with the Federal Government in bringing their opportunities to the attention of immigrants. The recommendation is also made that any alien trying to persuade another alien not to become an American citizen shall be immediately deported.

With reference to the restriction of immigration the Commission concludes that the first restriction should be against those who do not intend to become American citizens. Another restriction recommended by the Commission applies to those who cannot read or write in some language. It concludes that there is to-day an oversupply of unskilled labour in the United States, and that a sufficient number of immigrants should be debarred to produce a marked effect upon the unskilled labour supply.

With regard to Asiatic immigration the Com-

mission recommends that the general policy of excluding Chinese labour be continued, that the present understanding concerning Japanese and Korean immigration be permitted to stand without further legislation so long as the restriction continues to be effective; and that an understanding be reached with the British government whereby East Indian labourers would be effectively prevented from entering the United States.

## XIII

### GENERAL LEGISLATION

**T**HE history of immigration legislation and attempted legislation in the United States affords an interesting sidelight upon our reception of the immigrant from the beginning down to the present time. Prior to 1835 immigration was taken as a matter of course, a welcome was given to every immigrant who came, and the only legislation that was enacted was the law for the protection of steerage passengers passed in 1819, and for the gathering of statistical data concerning immigrants to America.

But the great inpouring of foreigners, many of whom were Catholics, after 1835 began to arouse an opposition to immigration on the part of some Protestants. This opposition culminated in the Native American or Know-Nothing movement, and for a while it seemed as if it might accomplish a restriction of immigration. An effort to make nativism a national question was made, and although it gained some little headway, the feeling against foreigners sub-



sided somewhat during the forties, but the heavy increase in immigrants just prior to 1850 again stirred up the anti-foreign sentiment, and this time it found expression in the Know-Nothing movement. It tried to capture the presidency in 1856, nominating Millard Fillmore as its standard-bearer. But Ex-President Fillmore fared worse in 1856 than did President Taft in 1912, for he carried only one state—Maryland. And it is probable that he carried that state as the Whig nominee rather than as the Know-Nothing nominee.

In spite of the Know-Nothings, further legislation was enacted in 1847 and 1848, throwing still further protection around the steerage immigrant, and when the Kansas-Nebraska bill was pending Congress gave the right of participation in local affairs to foreigners who had declared their intention of becoming citizens.

The Federal Government did not really assume control of immigration until 1882, prior to that time it having been regarded as a question for state jurisdiction, but as explained in a preceding chapter, in 1864 President Lincoln, desiring to keep up the necessary supply of labour, asked Congress to encourage the importation of contract labour. Such a law was promptly enacted and was kept on the

statute books for four years, when it was repealed.

President Grant first recommended, in a special message to Congress, that immigration should be put under national rather than state control. But the states continued to hold the subject as one within their jurisdiction until 1876, when the Supreme Court, in an important case, declared that any state law providing for the compulsory inspection of passengers and detention of vessels of foreign countries was restrictive of foreign commerce and therefore unconstitutional. The Court then did an unusual thing for the Supreme Court, recommending that Congress take jurisdiction over these matters, setting forth that it could "more appropriately, and with more acceptance, exercise it than any other body known to our law." It further added that if Congress would take control of immigration it would effectively and satisfactorily settle a serious matter which had long given rise to contest and complaint.

1878 Congress, six years later, acted upon the recommendations of the Supreme Court by passing a general immigration law. This law imposed a head tax of fifty cents on each immigrant, and this money was used at the port of collection for the enforcement of the immigration law and the care of immigrants after

their arrival. The law gave the Secretary of the Treasury jurisdiction over immigration matters and authorized him to enter into contracts with such state officers as might be designated by the governor of any state, to take charge of the local affairs of immigration within such state. The law provided that foreign convicts (except those convicted of political offenses), lunatics, idiots, and persons likely to become public charges, should not be permitted to land.

The law of 1882, farming out to the states the control of immigration, failed of its purpose, and by 1888 there was such continued assertion that its terms, as well as those of the law prohibiting the immigration of contract labourers enacted in 1885, were being violated and evaded, that a committee was appointed by the House to investigate the matter.

This committee recommended that the enforcement of the immigration law should be entrusted solely to state officers, praised the "old" immigration, condemned the "new," and announced that the time for restricted immigration had arrived. In 1889 the Senate and House created standing committees on immigration, and they jointly made a further investigation. The result was the law of 1891, which added many features still found in the

immigration law. It gave the Federal Government sole control of immigration, excluded persons suffering from loathsome and dangerous contagious diseases, and entrusted to the Public Health and Marine Hospital Service the important task of making the necessary health inspections. It strengthened the contract labour law, and required the steamship companies bringing deportable aliens to American ports to carry them back at their own expense.

In 1892 still another investigation was ordered, and a joint committee of the two houses of Congress recommended further changes. It reported that inspection up to that time was largely a farce, and based on this the law was amended in 1893, by which the boards of inquiry were created. The following year the head tax on immigrants was raised to one dollar.

In 1897 Congress passed another law, which excluded those aliens over sixteen who were physically able but who could not read or write, exception being made of the parents, grandparents, minor children, and wives of admissible immigrants. President Cleveland vetoed this measure, which was the first literacy test ever passed by Congress. He said, in answer to the charge that our immigration was falling off in quality, that the same thing

was said of immigrants who, with their descendants, are now numbered among America's best citizens. He thought a hundred thousand illiterate immigrants who came to found homes and to work were less dangerous than one unruly agitator. The House passed the bill over Cleveland's veto, but the Senate refused to do so.

In 1903, after the investigation by the Industrial Commission had been made, the House again passed an immigration law with the literacy test in it. The Senate refused to concur in the establishment of such a test, but added a provision increasing the immigrant head tax from one dollar to two dollars. The immigration and naturalization of anarchists was prohibited. This bill finally became a law, and although the immigration question continued in the forefront of legislative interest, no additional legislation was enacted until 1907, when out of a number of bills Congress finally agreed upon a law which raised the head tax to four dollars, created the Immigration Commission, and empowered the President to refuse entrance to the immigrants from any country who hold passports to other countries than the United States, when those passports are being used to enable the holders to come to the United States to the detriment of internal labour conditions.



This is the clause under which Uncle Sam excludes Japanese and Korean labourers from the United States—a sort of diplomatic, sugar-coated exclusion act without any offense to Japan in it.

The law of 1907 also set the face of the nation more positively against the international traffic in “white slaves,” and this feature of the law was strengthened by another law enacted in 1910.

The Commissioner General of Immigration in 1912 prepared the draft of a law embodying his ideas on immigration. This bill provides some advanced recommendations, which would, if incorporated into law, save many thousands of dollars in charity and prison expenses to the country. It provides that criminals, paupers, violators of the white-slave laws, alien seamen, and others may be deported within five years after their entry into the United States. The Secretary of Commerce and Labour is made the final judge in all these matters. There are many other provisions calculated to strengthen the hands of the immigration authorities in keeping out undesirable immigrants and to compel the steamship companies to aid the United States in carrying out the law rather than aiding immigrants to evade it.



## XIV.

### THE ALIEN IN THE MINE

**T**HE immigrant long has been the mainstay of the American mining industry.

For instance, he and his children constitute practically three-fourths of the labour force of the bituminous coal mines of the United States. And, generally speaking, the bulk of this immigrant labour found in the mines is but lately arrived and of the "new" immigration. Prior to 1890 the average bituminous coal miner was a native American, a Welshman, a Scot, an Irishman, an Englishman, or a German. He wielded a pick, and his work required skill and experience. He undercut the coal, drilled his own holes, fired his own shots, and, together with his helper, loaded his coal on cars at so much per ton for the entire operation.

Then came the invention of the mining machine, capable of doing the work of many pick-miners, and thereafter large numbers of helpers and coal-shovellers were needed. With the coal undercut by machinery, the holes drilled

in the same way, and the shots fired by an expert in his line, any immigrant, however illiterate, and however ignorant of mining conditions, could do the bulk of the hand-work in the mine. The result was that the husky Slovak, whose only skill was main force and awkwardness, could do more work than the miner of the "old" immigration. After the Slovak came the Magyar, the Pole, and the Italian. And when they came into the mine their predecessors went out.

One frequently hears that the "new" immigrant gets into a certain line of work, drives out the native American and the "old" immigrant, and then stays there. But this is not a fair statement of conditions. They work there for a while, and soon one discovers many of them searching better fields in the same industry, or climbing up a rung of the industrial ladder into work on top of the ground—maybe into a steel plant, a plough factory, or the like.

The "new" immigrant, illiterate, inexperienced, unable to speak or to understand English, makes an excellent mine worker. He cannot talk back to his boss, he is unacquainted with anything that savours of insubordination, and his training in the fields in Europe, where he frequently had to walk four or five miles from his village home to his work and back,

and work from sun to sun, has made him tractable and willing to work hard. He is usually glad to get work at the wages the operator is willing to pay, for that is a great improvement over what he got at home. His low standards of living, his ready acceptance of a low wage and existing working conditions, his lack of permanent interest in his occupation, his indifference to labour organizations, his slow progress toward assimilation, have made him the employé the operators want, and the principal obstacle in the way of compelling better conditions for the miner.

The story of Calumet, in the northern peninsula of Michigan, illustrates the immigrant's monopoly of the mining industry in America. It is a city of 45,000, and almost as un-American as Naples, Warsaw, or Trieste. It is difficult to find an American in the place. There is a babel of tongues, twenty different races constituting its population. Sixteen nationalities are represented in its school-teaching force. Its people are the foreigners and their children who live by the copper mines under Lake Superior. The native-born are the ones who have colonized at Calumet, and they have named their settlement, "Houghton."

The men who mine our coal were not always human moles burrowing in the ground year

in and year out. Only one-fifth of those who mine the soft coal of the country ever worked in a mine before they came to America, and nearly three-fifths of them grew to manhood working in the fields of southern and eastern Europe. Perhaps they were sheep-herders following their flocks over the rough hills; mayhap they worked in the bright-hued poppy fields. Whatever they did they lived close to nature, amid bright, health-giving, strength-making surroundings. Now they must work where never a ray of natural light comes.

Peter Roberts strikingly tells the story of the miner of to-day. "‘Production,’ ‘tonnage,’" he says, "that is the talisman in the life of so many managers who want to make a record, and they forget the men who ought to count for more than production. In a coal-shaft where the labour force was almost wholly foreign, the man in charge wanted to make a record. ‘Get out the coal,’ was the order, and the wheels were running at their swiftest. A boy came and said, ‘There’s fire on level three.’ The foreman replied, ‘It’s a mistake, get out the coal.’ An hour passed, and another warning came; but the word was passed, ‘We are breaking the record, get out the coal.’ Then another half-hour of rushing out the coal, and then the cry, ‘The third level is full of smoke.’"

The wheels stopped; but it was too late; no word could be sent to the surface. The air current changed, and none of the men on that level could escape. The manager made his record, but it was a record so gruesome that ninety million people felt the shock the next morning. Put the man first and tonnage second, and many accidents will be prevented. We have kept the wheels of industry running, and also the hearse. We have made records, and so has the recording angel."

At the same time it must be remembered that the immigrant's indifference is oftentimes the cause of accidents in mines as well as elsewhere. Some of them are so reckless and take so many chances that the added risk alone has been sufficient to banish native American and older immigrants from the mines. The Bureau of Mines puts some of the burden of responsibility for accidents upon the shoulders of the miners themselves. It says that some of them are inexperienced and do not take proper precautions for their own safety or for the safety of others, and that this becomes a serious menace unless they are restrained by carefully enforced regulations.

The average wage paid the miner is not large. The investigation of the Immigration Commission showed that all miners over 18



years of age averaged \$2.19 per day, but that they worked only enough days in the year to make their total income per year \$443. Only two-fifths of the families investigated showed that they could live on the wages of the head of the house alone. More than a third of them supplemented the family income by keeping boarders, and some of them had children at work. In this connection it is interesting to note how other industries, dependent upon the labour of women and children, are affected in their distribution by the mining industry. For instance, cigar and tobacco factories, silk mills, clothing manufacturing establishments, and other small industries gather around the mining centres, for here is a cheap supply of woman and child labour, forced out of the home by the necessities of the family exchequer. The silk industry is largely concentrated in the Pennsylvania anthracite region because of the labour supply there.

But the foreigner in the mine seems cheerfully to suit his standard of living to his income. This is illustrated by the rents paid per person among native- and foreign-born families investigated by the Immigration Commission. The Bulgarians, for instance, were able to crowd themselves so much that the rent of their houses averaged only ninety-seven cents



a month per person. The Macedonians did better still, their average expense for house rent being seventy-eight cents per person. Nearly all of the "new" immigrants were able to hold the expenditure below \$1.50 per month.

One may find much encouragement for the future by observing how much better the sons and daughters of foreigners live than their parents. The investigation shows that while the average foreigner spends only \$1.51 a month for the roof over his head, his native-born children spend \$2.50. The native Americans in the same industries spend \$2.58 per month. This difference is due rather to the number of people living in a house than to the rental rates on the house. This shows that the second generation is not willing to live under such crowded and insanitary conditions as their fathers, and that in a single generation they approximate the American standard.

The indications are that for many years to come the miners who dig the coal with which we run our railroads, steamships, factories, furnaces, and mills, and with which we heat our homes, will still come from southern and eastern Europe, and they will continue to live as men down in the darkness of the earth rather than as men up in the sunlight of day, but at the same time they will probably join

the races that came before them in giving to America a sturdy yeomanry in their children. They may resist the leaven of Americanization, but their children will be willing subjects for its processes.

It is because of that very fact that it behooves Americans who have more than one generation of American ideals behind them to do all in their power to make especial provision for the nurture and care of the children of our pit-toiling immigrants. They must not only be educated in the three R's, but their bodies must be cared for, they must not too young be offered up to our modern Molochs, they must be saved from that license of immorality to which unaccustomed liberty so often leads.





(From National Geographic Magazine, Washington, D. C. Copyright, 1913.)  
A FINNISH GIRL.

## XV

### THE FOREIGNER IN THE FACTORY

**M**ORE than four-fifths of the immigrants who enter the factories of America are unskilled labourers. In the past ten years not less than six million such unskilled workers have been recruited into the industrial army of the United States. In two generations this movement has transformed the country from a nation almost wholly given to agriculture into one that is in the very van of the industrial nations of the earth, a phenomenon without precedent in history.

America boasts of its industrial supremacy, and yet what a vast proportion of this supremacy it owes to the immigrants who left Europe to come here! Where would our iron and steel industry be if the seven-tenths of the workers who are foreigners or sons of foreigners should walk out? What would become of the so-called beef trust if three-fourths of its workers who are foreigners should suddenly become disgusted with foul Packingtown and throw up their jobs? Where would we get the

coal to turn our wheels of industry if the seven-tenths of the miners represented by foreigners and their sons should suddenly decide to work at trades where the light of day may be with them? How would we continue our supply of plate-glass, window-glass, bottles, and glass tableware if the foreign contingent and their sons who constitute three-fifths of the labour force of the glass industry were to eliminate themselves?

What would become of our woollen and worsted mills if the seven-eighths of their wage-earners who are foreigners and their children should walk out? What would become of the silk mills if the four-fifths who are foreigners and their children should cease to be wage-earners? And if the nine-tenths of the cotton-mill operatives who are foreigners and their families were to leave their looms, America might have to go back to the clothes made of skins. Were it not for the foreigner a "hand-me-down" suit could scarcely be bought for love or money. And when we remember that the foreigner and his children make half of our shirts, collars, and cuffs; tan, curry, and finish nearly five-sixths of our leather; make half of our gloves; refine nearly nine-tenths of our oil, and nearly nineteen-twentieths of our sugar; and supply nearly half



of the labour in the manufacture of our tobacco and cigars, we see that he is, after all, quite an important factor in our industrial supremacy.

The foreigner has a monopoly upon the dangerous, the dirty, and the odorous trades. In the slaughtering industry you will find him usually in such places as the hide-curing rooms, where they shake, count, and pack the slimy, slippery hides; in the fertilizer plant where the refuse of the slaughter house is assembled amid unspeakable stench; in the soap-making department where fats are reduced and the alkalis mixed, and where unbearable odours persist all the time. And yet you find him a patient, cheerful worker, content with his average wage of \$5.57 a year.

Visit a big contract work like the New York aqueduct or the Barge Canal, and here again you find the foreigner. Go to the lumber camps of the Northwest and he greets you. And yet wherever they are encountered they are found to be the backbone of industry, ready to take the hardest and most unpleasant jobs, and to work under taskmasters who are sometimes not less harsh than the Simon Legree of "Uncle Tom's Cabin."

One of the peculiar things about the foreigner in the factory is the tendency toward racial monopoly in many lines. The French

Canadian is mainly to be found in cotton factories, copper mining and smelting, and the boot and shoe trade. The Croatian is found in the mine, the steel plant, and the filthy trades. The Danes take to leather, furniture, and collars and cuffs. The Dutch work in furniture factories and silk making and dyeing.

America's era of greatest expansion has been coincident with the rise of the "new" immigration. In the thirty years since the new tide of humanity began to set in earnest, the capital of our industries has increased some sixfold and the value of their products about threefold. There are those who regret that the tide from southern and eastern Europe ever set in. One class says that if the "new" immigrant had not come wages would have continued upon such a high plane that the people of northwestern Europe could not have turned away from such an opportunity, and that we would still be getting the bulk of our immigration from there. Others declare that the immigrant is largely responsible for the expansion that took place. According to this view he was attracted by then existing opportunities, and his presence in large numbers stimulated the capital to devise new ways and means of using him, the end of which stimulation was our great industrial expansion.

But, perhaps, more to the point is the story of the inventions which have made it possible for the raw immigrant of the present to do more than the skilled native of the past. Take the cotton factory. Here, after a brief training, the ignorant immigrant is able to operate the automatic looms and ring spinning frames that do the work which formerly required skilled weavers and mule spinners. In the glass factory the unlettered labourer, with the aid of machinery, can now do as good work and vastly more of it, as the best-trained glass-blower could do thirty years ago. The inventor is perhaps the man to whom the credit for our industrial expansion must be given. He devised machines that are able to more than supply the difference between the awkwardness of the ignorant labourer and the ability of the skilled workman.

The immigration from eastern and southern Europe has adversely affected the labour unions of the communities into which they have gone. In the cotton goods industry, for instance, it is only the fact that the new labour has been controlled by the skilled employés, such as the weavers and tenders of the slashers, that has saved the labour unions from disruption. It is only at Fall River that the unions are strong enough to enforce their demands,

and at that only 9,000 out of a total of 30,000 employés belong to the unions. The greatest difficulty with which the labour leaders have to contend has been the low standard of living among the workmen of the "new" immigration, and their willingness to accept work under conditions and at wages entirely unsatisfactory to the older employés. They do not like to join the unions because of the dues, and this prevents the labour organizations from accumulating the necessary resources for conducting strikes.

In pleasing contrast with conditions that now obtain in such mill centres as Lawrence and Lowell is the story Charles Dickens told of the operatives at Lowell after his return home. He said the girls, who were of sturdy New England parentage, were all well dressed and extremely clean; they were healthy in appearance and had the manners of refined young women; the rooms in which they worked were as well-ordered as themselves. In all, he said, there was as much fresh air, cleanliness, and comfort as the nature of the occupation would possibly admit. He further declared they were such a healthy-looking lot that, assuming it was necessary for them to gain their daily bread by the labour of their hands, there was not one he would have removed if he had had

the power. He thought it a remarkable fact that in many of the operative boarding-houses there were joint-stock pianos, that nearly all of the young women subscribed to circulating libraries, and that among them they published a periodical.

Another writer, herself a mill-girl for years, says that except in rare instances the rights of the early mill-girls were secure. They were subject to no extortion; if they did extra work they were paid in full for it, and their own account of labour done by the piece was accepted. They kept the figures and were paid accordingly.

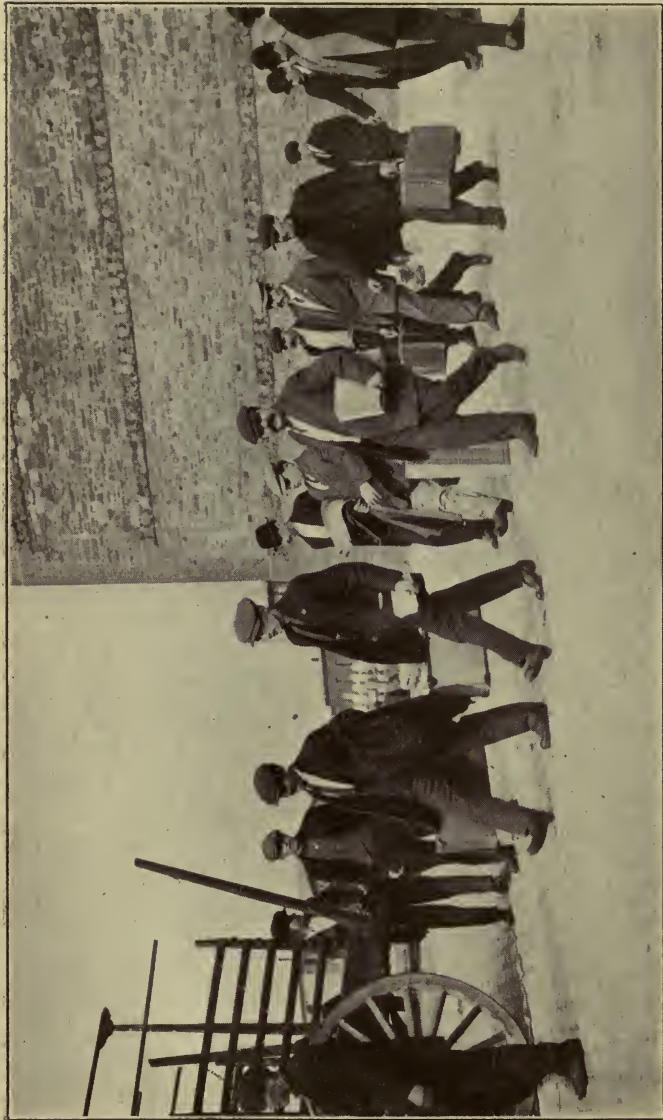
The results that may be accomplished by the manufacturer who employs labourers of the "new" immigration are shown by the experience of the superintendent of a large plant in Ohio, which employs several hundred Magyars. When they first came they had the usual undesirable qualities of the new immigrant. But the superintendent planned to eliminate these qualities. He became a member of their fraternal society, advised them in their investments, put his name down as a charter member of their church, loaned them money at nominal interest, built them a hall, and called in experts to lay out a plan of amusements, educational work, and lectures. He says of the results:



“After twelve years of experience our works have gathered together a splendid force of men. We started out with a small reading-room with a competent instructor in English, and found it necessary to build a larger building. They have succeeded in building two churches, have a number of beneficial societies, and are better citizens and better workmen. I can only add that if it could be made possible for every large concern employing this class of labour to see the splendid results which we have obtained, I feel sure they would not hesitate to put forth every effort to extend the work.”



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## XVI

### THE FOREIGNER ON THE FARM

EVERYBODY knows that the majority of the immigrants from northwestern Europe have planted themselves on the soil—that they came to America to cast their lot forever with its fortunes. A large percentage of them are engaged in farming. More than half of the Norwegians in America are on the farm, nearly half of the Swedes are there, and nearly half of the Danes. Two-fifths of the Swiss and a third of the Germans have helped make up our grand totals in crop-raising, stock-raising, dairying, etc.

Even the “new” immigration is not wholly given over to mining and manufacturing. Some of the immigrants are going to the land. When the Immigration Commission made its investigation there were some forty Italian agricultural colonies and communities. And they have been doing well. Whether upon the muck lands of New York, the sandy barrens of New Jersey, the rock-strewn hills of New England, or the heavy black Brazos cotton lands of

Texas, they have been able to make a fair living, and often by working early and late, with an incredible expenditure of labour, to make productive lands upon which Americans have all but starved. They thrive best in communities, for the Italian is pre-eminently a social being and likes to have close and sympathetic neighbours as well as lands. In industry, thrift, careful attention to details, crop yields, and other matters he compares well with the other farmers of his vicinity. His patience, unflagging industry, and capacity for hard, monotonous labour make him a good farmer.

Where the second generation of Italians grow up on the little farms of their fathers they develop into a sturdy people, measuring up in the main to all the best standards of second generations of foreigners in America. In the big settlement at Vineland, N. J., which is the largest rural Italian settlement in the United States, the second generation is sticking to the little truck-farm and making money.

Not only are the Italians starting farming communities in many parts of the country, but in the southern cotton fields, notably in the "delta" region, they are in prime favour as cotton-pickers, and also as labourers on sugar plantations, in many places being regarded as much superior to negro labour.

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Most of the Italian farm-owners are men who started out as pick-and-shovel men, railroad section men, and labourers on general construction work. Some of them were factory workers. But once they began farming others followed their example, and soon their relatives and friends in Italy began coming, so that before long they had established a settlement.

Where the Hebrews have gone to the land they usually have done fairly well. With them, as with the Italians, their most successful colony is probably the one near Vineland, N. J. This colony was established amid pine barrens about 1882, and was conducted largely upon a communistic basis until 1890, when it seemed to be upon the verge of failure. Then some money from the Baron Hirsch Fund was made available for the financial rehabilitation of the colony. Since that time it has thrived and to-day stands out as an evidence of what the Hebrew may do when he goes to farming instead of to merchandising. Some of them have developed a new sort of agriculture—summer-boarder agriculture it has been called. The Hebrew farmer opens his house to the summer boarder and thus makes his own market for his products. The Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society now operates an experi-

mental farm on Long Island and prospective rural colonists are offered a course of instruction in farming. It is the opinion of the Immigration Commission that as a pioneer farmer the Jew might not be a great success, but that, if he has the means to begin with, he will usually make a success where he starts on an ordinary American farm.

The Poles are beginning more and more to turn to agriculture as a means of livelihood, and there are some fifty settlements where they are found in considerable numbers, these settlements representing nearly seven thousand families. Some few settlements were established before the Civil War. But it was not until about 1885 that the Polish communities began to dot the prairies of the Dakotas and Minnesota. Some of the settlers were immigrants direct from Europe, but more of them were labourers who had spent several years in American mines and factories, and had saved some money. They usually bought land more with an eye to its cheapness than to its productivity. ✓

The most recent tendency of the Pole is to settle on the abandoned farms of the East, and in the main they are farm labourers who stayed with the native farmers as long as they operated the farms and in the meantime had saved



up enough to buy the place when the owner decided to leave it. Most of the recruits are of direct immigration, comparatively few of those working in mines and factories being attracted to the farm. Some of the latter class, however, have been settling on the poorer hill farms of New England, attracted thence by enterprising real estate agents and big advertisements. They have been especially successful on farms raising specialized crops. In Portage County, Wis., they grow potatoes, while in New England they usually grow onions or tobacco and do well with both. The Pole has been called a lover of the land, and he never is quite satisfied when he is not the owner of a little plat of it.

More than a third of all our Bohemian population has taken to the farm, and the Bohemian is proving to more southerly sections of the country what the Scandinavian has proved to the Northwest. Texas has an unusually large number of Bohemian farmers, and they make good, just like the German of Pennsylvania and the states on the eastern side of the Mississippi valley has made good. Most of them grow cotton, but unlike the native cotton grower, they raise enough of other crops to supply their families and their live stock. The Texas situation affords a present-day picture

of the conditions which led to the great migration from Pennsylvania and northern Virginia into the Middle West—a migration that carried with it the father and mother of Abraham Lincoln. The old settlers, filled with the pioneer spirit, as soon as population began to get a little dense and land values began to rise, sold out at good prices and trekked to the West. To-day the old Bohemian settler in eastern Texas, willing to let others follow the easy life of settled farming, turns his eyes toward the Panhandle, takes his family and goes once more to the frontier to grow up with the country, and to add to wealth through the enhancement of land values as well as through the growing of crops. The Bohemian farmer of Texas has proved a progressive citizen, hard-working, honest, teaching his children a love for the farm, and growing a race of which Texas is proud.

The most gratifying result of a study of the members of the “new” immigration who have gone into agriculture is that it reveals a second generation coming on that is as well Americanized as the Germans of Pennsylvania, the Scandinavians of the Northwest, or the Scotch and the Irish of the Middle West. It demonstrates that the immigrant who settles on the land, whether he be of the “old” or the “new”

immigration, will sooner or later enrich the nation with a posterity that is a tower of strength and a great economic asset. And that lends much encouragement to the efforts of those who are directing the attention of the immigrant away from industrial life and toward agricultural life.

An interesting type of immigrant in agriculture is the one known as the seasonal labourer.<sup>1</sup> He may be a cranberry picker in the bogs of New England, a sugar-beet worker of Wisconsin, or a strawberry picker of Delaware and New Jersey. Gradually one sees the older races of immigrants giving way to the newer ones in these fields of cheap labour as well as in other places. The native Americans and the Germans gave way to the South Italians in the Jersey berryfields, while in the Massachusetts cranberry bogs, the Poles, Finns, and Italians are gradually yielding to the Black Portuguese or "Bravas." Near Geneva, N. Y., the South Italians are gradually giving way to the Greeks, and in the vicinity of Oneida, N. Y., the Syrians are getting a foothold as labourers on truck-farms. ✓

On the whole, the showing that the immigrant of the present day is able to make when he goes on the land is not a bad one. One out of every five of all the foreign-born popula-

tion in the United States lives by agriculture, but this large ratio is due to the "old" immigration in years gone by. The number of the "new" immigration on the land is comparatively small, but the conditions are good enough to warrant the hope that it eventually will grow. But at present the drift is plainly to the industrial centres and to city pursuits and somewhat away from the farm. However, it is the hope of many of the states which have vacant land that they can make it easy for an immigrant with ordinary qualifications to get securely settled on a farm, be it large or small, and thus turn the tide back to the land.

## XVII

### THE CHILDREN OF IMMIGRANTS IN SCHOOL

**T**HE investigation into the status of the children of immigrants in schools was one of the most extensive planned and carried out by the Immigration Commission. Inquiries were made which reached more than two million school-children, approximately a quarter of a million of them in parochial schools. It also reached some fifty thousand teachers and upward of thirty thousand students in the higher educational institutions of the country. The purpose was to ascertain to what extent the children of foreign parentage make use of our educational system and what progress they make in school work.

In the main the survey of the subject was a general one, but in a number of cities having a large percentage of children of foreign parentage, the examination was made more in detail. More than half of all the school children in the public schools of the thirty-seven cities investigated were of foreign par-

entage. In fact, fifty-seven out of every hundred of the children were of foreign parentage. Some of the cities showed a remarkable proportion of such children. In Chelsea and Duluth it was nearly three-fourths, while in New York, New Bedford, Chicago, Fall River, and Shenandoah, upward of two out of three were of foreign parentage.

The children of the races who do not speak English have rather a hard time getting started. There are a few exceptions. For instance, in the case of the Swedes, there are only a little more than half as many of their children behind in their studies as there are among the native American children. The little Dutch boys and girls show about the same amount of precocity. But when it comes to some of the other nationalities there is a different story. Two-thirds of the Polish Jew children have an unequal struggle in their work, while nearly two-thirds of the children from sunny southern Italy are unable to keep up with their American fellow-pupils. More than half of the Slovaks, Magyars, Poles, North Italians, and Jews are behind the normal qualifications of their years.

And yet with all the difficulties experienced by the children of the non-English-speaking foreigner, they show a better percentage of pu-



pils measuring up to the average school standards than is shown by the American negro. Whereas, taking them as a whole, the non-English-speaking foreigner's children show only 43 retarded pupils out of a hundred, the negro children show 69. These figures are the most extensive ever brought out concerning the relative mentality of white and negro children, and have added interest because they come from thirty-seven cities, only one of which is south of the Mason and Dixon line.

The teachers in the schools of the cities investigated ought to be able to sympathize with the struggles of the children of immigrants, for it is shown that one-half of them were either immigrants themselves or the children of immigrants. The majority of these teachers, of course, came from northwestern Europe, although other races were not without representation. The Irish furnish more than twice as many teachers in the schools investigated as any other race. In fact, they furnish about two-fifths of all the school teachers of foreign parentage in those cities—more than the Germans, English, and Scotch-Irish together.

In the parochial schools covered by the investigation it was found that children of foreign parentage largely predominate, nearly

two-thirds answering this description. One-fourth of them are of Irish parentage.

One can scarcely overestimate the assimilation force of the public schools as disclosed by the investigation. It shows that the immigrants do not fail to put their children into the schools, and that once there they are certain to become genuine Americans by the time they leave school. We discover the Americanization process in nearly all lines of inquiry which might indicate it. We see them emulating our bad traits as well as good ones.

It is true, however, that some of the races from southern and eastern Europe are not inclined to keep their children in school as long as would be best for them and for the country. While one out of eleven of our native American children are to be found in the high schools, only one out of a hundred of the average of the "new" immigrant's children will be found there.

The Immigration Commission finds much cause for congratulation on the way the foreigner, generally speaking, takes an interest in the schools and is ambitious that his children should learn to read and write. While in the congested districts this tendency is not as marked as it is in communities having only a normal foreign population, even in those dis-

tricts the children are given at least an elementary education. And where they have grown up and become the fathers and mothers of children of their own, they have made as good a record as the native Americans in the education of their children.

The children of foreigners in the smaller industrial centres do not, as a rule, fare so well in school as those in the cities. The average school in the mining village or camp is poor. Usually it is not in session more than five or six months in the year, and when it is in session, the teaching is often of a decidedly inferior quality. And then there are no attendance officers to look to keeping the children in school. A mother, burdened with a house full of little children, and perhaps keeping a half-dozen boarders, very naturally is inclined to keep her girl of ten home to help her. Likewise, the father, desiring to supplement his own meagre wages, puts his boy to work as soon as he is big enough to pick the slate out of coal.

The child of the immigrant usually starts out in life with a valuable asset—the will to overcome the obstacles in his pathway. The father came to America because he was not satisfied. He bravely bore up under the hardships and privations of his new sphere in order

that he and his family might be better off in the end. He worked hard, and placed everything else secondary to his desire for a competence, measured by his standard. This quality is inherited by the children. They sing the songs of the street more earnestly, play craps more recklessly, swear more outrageously, and do almost everything else with a more evident ambition to excel than their native American companions.

In the cities the children of the immigrant usually come to school from a crowded tenement. The Immigration Commission could not find a single tenement block occupied by Americans of native parentage. Those apologies for human habitations are occupied by the immigrant and his children. They are not there because they prefer it, but because sheer necessity forces them to be there. With no place to play except in a slum alley, it must be refreshing to the children to go to school where for at least a part of the day they may live amid decent surroundings and have a good place to play during recess.

Sometimes teachers have found the children of immigrants eager to play but very reluctant to wash. One teacher encountering this disposition told the boys that they could play in the gymnasium on condition that they first used its

shower-baths. The desire to play overbalanced the disinclination to wash, and a clean lot of boys was the result. In one of the New York schools there was a boy who would frequently jump out of his seat, make funny gestures, and go through other puzzling performances. The teacher tried to break him of his habit, but without success. Later the mother told her the boy was crazy for gymnastic exercises.

The problem of the working boy is one of the hardest with which those who would educate the child of the immigrant have to contend. Thousands of these boys come to America when they are too old to enter the primary grades. If he does try to enter those grades he is so big that he is laughed at and drops out rather than continue to be the butt of the children's laughter. So he gets no education. The same is largely true of the boys born here but forced to work as soon as they are old enough.

The investigations that have been made by various agencies tend to show that there is a markedly greater tendency to crime among the children of foreign parentage than among those of native parentage. The experience of the secretary of the Playground Association of Malden, Mass., perhaps explains why this is



so. He found that as soon as the playground was opened and the boys of foreign parentage brought out of the alleys and given healthy amusements, the number of petty crimes committed by them fell off fully fifty per cent.

It is clear, then, that the problem of correcting the criminal tendencies among certain of our immigrant classes cannot be left to any test that may be imposed at Ellis Island—nor can it be solved by devising punishments. We must Americanize their children, and to do that we must give them their share of the American boy's rightful heritage—a due proportion of healthy fun.



Against

## XVIII

### IMMIGRANTS AND CRIME

THE American people have heard so much about the criminal tendencies of the "new" immigration that they have come generally to accept as gospel truth the oft-repeated statement that the aliens coming to America are distinguished for their criminal tendencies. And yet every investigation that has been made points to the conclusion that if there is any difference between the immigrant and the native American in this regard it is in favour of the foreigner rather than against him.

The statistics do indicate, however, that the American-born children of immigrants show a greater tendency to crime than do the children of native parentage. It also appears that juvenile delinquency is greater among the children of immigrants than among those of native parents. The Immigration Commission concludes from its investigations that, upon the whole broad question as to whether or not immigration increases crime, there is not sufficient

evidence upon which to predicate a conclusion. On the other hand, it has found enough evidence to justify the assertion that immigration does change the character of crime in this country, and says that to measure this change was the chief aim of the investigation of crime records.

A marked increase in the number of crimes of personal violence, such as abduction, kidnapping, assault, homicide, and rape, is noted, and the number of cases of disorderly conduct, drunkenness, vagrancy, and like offenses has increased largely as a result of the presence of the immigrant. The same is true of offences against chastity, and also of the prevalence of blackmail, extortion, and the receiving of stolen property. On the other hand, in the majority of the gainful offences the native American has a worse record than the immigrant.

Some of these changes in the nature of American crime are traceable largely to certain nationalities of immigrants. For instance, the Commission concludes that the increase in the number of offenses of personal violence in this country is due to the immigration from southern Europe in general, and from Italy in particular. The Irish and Scotch are notable for their penal records for intoxication, the Italian for his number of attempted homicides, and

the Greeks and Russians for their contempt of public ordinances in the big cities.

But a much larger proportion of the offences committed by native Americans are of a serious nature than among those committed by the immigrants. For instance, the census inquiry shows that seven out of every ten crimes committed by native American prisoners are "major" offences, while less than six out of ten committed by immigrant prisoners belonged to that category.

Perhaps the most interesting tendency disclosed by the investigation is the inclination of the children of foreigners to cease to commit the crimes which characterize their parents and to commit the kinds of crimes which characterize the native American population—showing that they imitate Americans with a vengeance. In the records of the Court of General Sessions of New York it was found that whereas the percentage of gainful offences committed by Irish immigrants was only 60.5 per cent, the second generation shows 78 per cent, and the native Americans 79.7 per cent. On the other hand, the children of Irish immigrants commit less than half as many offences of personal violence as did their fathers.

There are some thirteen thousand alien prisoners in the penal institutions of the United

States. Assuming that it costs only \$200 a year to maintain each of them, the country must spend over two and a half million dollars annually to keep them. One-fourth of their crimes were committed within three years after their arrival in the United States. It is interesting to note the tendency of certain nationalities to commit certain forms of crime. Half of the crimes committed by Italians were of personal violence, while crimes of this class were committed by only one-sixteenth of the Jewish prisoners. On the other hand, the Jews committed nearly twice as many gainful offences as did the Italians. Two-thirds of the offences of which Irish prisoners were convicted were against public policy, while the Germans committed much less than half as many such crimes. On the other hand, the Germans committed more than twice as many gainful offences as the Irish. And so go the proportions all down the line. One nationality makes but few murderers, yet it has many forgers, burglars, and thieves. Another nationality has many men who commit or attempt to commit murder, and yet is possessed of only a few forgers, thieves, and burglars.

The distorted idea of the average American citizen concerning the criminal tendencies of immigrants is probably explained by the fact

that such a large number of them are convicted of petty offences. The New York State Commission of Immigration says they violate the corporation ordinances and the sanitary code to a much larger extent than the native American. For instance, a majority of the criminality of the Greeks of New York is found to be a violation of the law against peddling without license.

Much of the crime among immigrants is the direct result of drunkenness, and this particularly explains why the number of crimes of personal violence among the immigrants from southern and eastern Europe is so large. With such a large percentage of them unmarried and living in boarding-houses where often from four to ten sleep in a single room, it is little wonder that they often drink to excess, and of course they drink cheap liquor calculated to arouse all the worst that is in them. The foreigner often attempts to hide the crime of his own people, although it may have been committed against himself. It has been estimated that not more than three per cent of all those who commit murder are brought to justice.

The Immigration Commission investigated the tendency of foreign criminals to come to the United States in order to escape punishment, and the results show the inadequacy of the



present law to debar them. Italy was selected as the country upon whose subjects the investigation was to be made, largely because of the general belief that more Italian criminals come to the United States than from any other country. The investigation was made in New York for the reason that it could be carried on to better advantage there, both because of the Italians in the city and because suspicions would not be as likely to be aroused. To conduct the investigation it was necessary to secure a corps of special agents who were familiar with the Italian quarter. It was then further necessary to check up the accuracy of their work by securing the official records of the criminals they had run down and reported upon. The closeness with which the reports of the investigators tallied with the facts disclosed by the official records sent over from Italy, proved conclusively the carefulness of the investigators in ascertaining and reporting their facts.

It was found that there are many Italian criminals in the United States who served out their sentences before coming; many others who were tried and convicted in their absence and are fugitives from justice; many who were acquitted, but against whom there was strong evidence; and still others who never have been tried for any crime but whose reputations at



home were notorious. The law shuts out only the one class—those who have been tried and convicted before their arrival in the United States. There have been instances where the Italian courts have convicted a criminal after his landing in the United States, but the courts have held that the law does not require the deportation of such persons. Furthermore, no matter how clear the evidence that a criminal got into the United States in defiance of the immigration laws, the courts have held that if he has been here three years he is not subject to deportation.

It has been urged in many quarters that every person who has committed a criminal offence abroad should be liable to deportation at any time within a period of five years, and also that any immigrant committing a criminal offence within five years after coming here shall be deported immediately. Some have suggested that every person who lands ought to be required to present a certificate of good standing from his home country. As it is, the immigration authorities have very little ground upon which to work in trying to prevent the entrance of criminals. Unless there are peculiar circumstances the criminal is usually shrewd enough to hide any indications of his criminalities, and so he comes in.

General Theodore A. Bingham said, when Police Commissioner of New York, that he believed there were fully three thousand desperadoes from southern Italy alone in that city, and that among them there were some as ferocious and desperate as ever gathered in a modern city in time of peace—mediæval criminals who must be dealt with under modern laws.

That this condition greatly complicates the difficulties of police supervision in the metropolis cannot be denied. It is, therefore, the more unfortunate that so many criminals of foreign extraction have found not opposition but encouragement from those whose duty it is to keep order. The "Black Hand" outrages among the Italians, the Tong wars among the Chinese, the "razor parties" among the negroes of San Juan Hill, when considered with the "gang" wars of the native Americans may be taken as showing that crime is neither geographical nor racial.

Against

## XIX

### THE WHITE SLAVE TRAFFIC

**T**HE importation and harbouring of alien women and girls for immoral purposes, is pronounced by the Immigration Commission the most pitiful and the most revolting phase of the immigration question. It was found that the business had assumed such large proportions and was exerting so evil an influence upon the country that the Commission decided to make it the subject of a thorough investigation. Since the subject is one especially liable to sensational exploitation, the Commission decided that it would carefully state only the undeniable facts calculated to form the basis of reasonable legislative and administrative action looking to its suppression.

The Commission made its report to Congress just before Christmas, 1909. The showing made was so startling that Congress in a little more than three months after the filing of the report, sent a law upon the subject to the President for his signature. This law added to the list of deportable aliens persons who are sup-

ported by, or who receive in whole or in part, the proceeds of prostitution. This was intended especially to break up the infamous cadet system, whereby human vampires in the guise of men force women and girls to deliver to them the profits of their shame. The law of 1907 already had placed the ban upon aliens who procure or attempt to bring women and girls into the United States for immoral purposes, but it was not extended to the reprehensible cadet.

The investigation of the white slave traffic began in 1907, under the active supervision of a special committee of the Immigration Commission. The work was conducted by a special agent with numerous assistants, and the Commission says that too much credit cannot be given to the agents who independently planned details, and with cheerful courage, even at the risk of their lives at times, secured information relative to the traffic. Several of them had to associate, under one pretext or another, with the criminal procurers, importers, cadets, and their unfortunate or degraded victims when the discovery of the agent's purposes might have resulted in his murder. One woman agent was attacked and beaten, escaping serious injury, if not death, only with the greatest difficulty, and yet the next day she went cheer-

fully back to her work, though, of course, in another locality. Information was secured from men who formerly had been keepers of disorderly houses; from women who were managers of such houses; from physicians who practised among such women; from women who had formerly been white slaves; and also from some of the women and girls who had been lured to America under false pretences.

After its investigation, the Commission estimated that the number of women imported for immoral purposes was running into the thousand every year. But the real work was to get data as to the methods of the white slave traffic so that the remedial legislation could be adopted. The action of the Supreme Court in the Keller case, in which that part of the law under which persons were prosecuted for "harbouring" alien women for immoral purposes was declared unconstitutional, has made it harder to enforce the intent of the law, since it is much more difficult to weave a chain of evidence about an importer or procurer than to convict a person of "harbouring" such women.

Some idea of the prevalence of "white slavery" in New York City may be gathered from an investigation of the night court records for a period of four months. During that time



there were 2,093 cases of soliciting on the streets and being inmates of disorderly houses brought in, upon which convictions were secured, and of these 581 were women of alien birth. Nearly half of the foreigners were Jewish, while half of the remainder were French. The opinions of the agents of the Commission, however, were that the majority of the Jewish women found in white slavery had reached there at the hands of professional seducers.

The motive of business profit is wholly responsible for the existence of the traffic. The Commission states that the procurers who entice the women to leave their foreign homes, the importers who assist them in evading the law or who bring them here for sale to the keepers of disorderly houses, and cadets who exploit them body and soul, have only profit in view. Although very many of the girls are brought here innocent, betrayed into a slavery rigid in its strictness and barbarous in its nature, there are others who come with their eyes open, lured by stories that the profits of such a life are often ten times as great in America as in Europe.

The Commission says that of far greater significance than facts showing that the law has been violated, are the other facts which



show the method employed and the inadequacy of the law to protect the country against such importations. Recruiting is carried on systematically at home and abroad. The men who recruit the majority of the victims are in the business for the dollars and cents they can get out of it. With a cunning knowledge of human nature, they play upon the weaknesses of vanity and pride, upon the laudable thrift and desire to secure a better livelihood, upon the praiseworthy trust and affection which innocent girls have for those they love. They even prey upon their sentiments of religion, and once in their toils, they capitalize them with a cruelty at times fiendish in its calculating coldness and brutality. If the prospective victim is young and affectionate, the procurer makes her acquaintance, treats her kindly, offers to assist her in getting a better position. Her confidence won, she is within his power, and is calculatingly led into a life of shame. Women procurers offer girls good positions at better pay than they have ever been able to make, and then carry them off to some brothel.

Correspondence captured in raids instituted by the agents of the Commission constitute remarkable human documents. The slavers write to one another in polite terms, express affection for their families, talk tenderly of

the mothers and other relatives, and yet when they come to discuss their victims it is with the same coolness with which they would name the good points of a thoroughbred horse or a blooded dog which they were offering for sale.

A Seattle case reveals something of the methods of the slavers. The girl was German. She served four years as a trained nurse and then went to France for a year as governess, after which she spent a year at home. Finally she decided to come to America. En route she met another German woman, who told her she lived in Los Angeles, and who wanted to engage her as governess. Finally they wound up in Seattle, where she was taken, at night, to a disorderly house whose address she did not know, where her clothes were taken from her and where she was denied paper to write. She threatened to kill herself if she were not released, and finally she was taken to a hotel, by the husband of the woman who had enticed her, and was there bound, gagged, and assaulted. The law finally came to her rescue and the woman who betrayed her was deported. Her husband got two years in the penitentiary, but under the Supreme Court decision pronouncing unconstitutional the law against harbouring, he is not liable to any punishment for his unspeakably brutal treatment of his victim.

Those who recruit women for immoral purposes frequent employment agencies, immigrant homes, moving-picture shows, dance-halls, railroad stations. Often as much as a thousand dollars is paid for an exceptionally attractive girl, and the prices range on down to two hundred dollars. The imported girls usually come as the wives or relatives of the men accompanying them, as maids or relatives of women accompanying them, or as women entering alone and booked to some home or friend. The Japanese have a custom whereby a woman in Japan may marry a man in America by proxy, and often they come over ostensibly to meet their proxy husbands, but in reality to go into "white slavery."

It has been found difficult to apprehend the violators of the white slave law at the ports, and the danger of detaining innocent women is so great that the inspectors would rather pass a dozen they are not certain about than to hold up one innocent one upon such a charge.

The system of exploitation is such that the poor white slave victim, whether she has been trapped into the life or has entered it willingly, gets only a small share of the profit. In a raid in Chicago a big Irish girl was taken. She was asked why she didn't get out. She replied: "Get out! I can't. They make us buy the

cheapest rags, and they are charged against us at fabulous prices; they make us change outfits every two or three weeks, until we are so deeply in debt we can never hope to get out. We seldom get an accounting, but when we do it is always to find ourselves deeper in debt than before."

One depressing fact about this unhappy business is that so many honest immigrant girls who actually seek and find employment in domestic service subsequently become the prey of the "white slaver." The changed conditions of life that they find in America, the absolute extinction in many instances of the social opportunities, make them only too ready for the wiles of the miserable creatures who ever stalk the defenceless and the weak.

## XX

### THE FOREIGNER'S LARGE FAMILY

**M**UCH has been written in recent years about race suicide, but most of it with only superficial facts at hand upon which to base conclusions. Next to nothing was known of the conditions which produce it, of its relative extent in urban and rural life, and of its existence among different nationalities of people. Fortunately, when the Twelfth Census was taken, data were gathered as to the number of years wives had been married and the number of children they had borne. But these figures were never tabulated by the Census authorities with a view to showing the bearing immigration has upon the tendency of the American people toward a lower birth-rate. That task was undertaken by the Immigration Commission with data taken from the state of Rhode Island as representing a compactly populated state of the old East where nearly all the people are urban dwellers; from the city of Cleveland as being a typical American city; from the rural counties of Ohio representing



typical rural conditions among the native population; from the city of Minneapolis representing the old immigration under urban conditions; and from the rural districts of Minnesota as typical of the Northwest.

The results of these tabulations demonstrate beyond question that if America is to continue to grow and wax more powerful it will have to look to the country districts and to the immigrants for the supply of children who will make this growth possible. The story told by the figures is one of very small families among women of native parentage who live under urban conditions. As a matter of fact, such families scarcely have enough children to replace themselves. It is probable that out of every three children born not more than two grow to adult estate and have children of their own. In fact, the probability is that this statement is far on the side of conservatism, as is shown by the fact that out of 100,000 children born, about 40,000 die before they reach the age of twenty-four. And when it is further considered that out of every hundred marriages in the country about seven are childless, it will appear very conservative to say that the family which does not have three children stands little show of directly adding to the permanent population of the country.



And yet the investigations of the Immigration Commission disclose the fact that the average American wife whose parents are both native-born Americans, and who lives in the city, has only 2.4 children. Her sister in the rural districts has 3.4 children, or one more child than her city sister. To put it another way, where city women of native parentage have twenty-four children, their country sisters have thirty-four.

But although the country woman of native parentage has one more child in her family than her city sister, the immigrant mother shows even a larger family than the country woman. The immigrant woman in the city has a larger number of children than the native parentage woman in the country, but fewer children than the immigrant woman in the country. The latter class of women has the largest number of children of any of the classes of women investigated. In rural Minnesota we find her with an average of five and a half children.

In nearly every case women of foreign birth show a much higher percentage of children than women who are the children of native Americans. For all the territory studied the immigrant women had an average of two children more than the native women of native

parentage. The French Canadian women in Rhode Island had families more than twice as large as the women of native American parentage, and very few of the immigrant women of the different nationalities failed to show at least two children more than the average American woman could claim. The English and Scotch came nearer to approximating the American standard than any other immigrant races, and yet average English and Scotch mothers had one more child than the American-parentage mothers.

The Polish women embraced in the enumeration, had the champion anti-race suicide families in the United States, with more than six children to the family. The Bohemian women had more than five children in the average family, and the same is true of the French Canadians, the Finnish, and the Russian women. The Austrian, Danish, German, Irish, Italian, Norwegian, and Swiss women who were immigrants, averaged more than four and a half children each.

But the children of the immigrant women are not the possessors of as big families as their mothers. While the immigrant women themselves average 4.7 children, their daughters who have been married the same length of time average only 3.9 children. The

tendency of the daughters of immigrant women toward smaller families applies to every nationality. While among none of the nationalities investigated did the daughters of immigrant women have as many children as the mother, on the other hand, in not a single nationality did the average number of children among women of immigrant parentage fall as low as that among women of native parentage. Usually the family of the immigrant woman's daughter was a medium between the big family of the immigrant woman and the small one of the woman of native parentage.

These figures are all based upon women who are less than forty-five years old and who have been married from ten to nineteen years. No matter whether the figures are taken from populous Rhode Island, from rural Minnesota, rural Ohio, Cleveland, or Minneapolis, they all show the same relative tendencies of large families among the women of foreign birth, medium families among women who are the daughters of immigrants, and smaller families among women of native parentage. The average city-living daughter of an immigrant woman has about the same-sized family as the average country-living woman of native parentage.

No matter among what class or what nationality of women the investigation leads, the uniform lesson it teaches is that urban conditions tend to restrict the size of families. They affect the woman of native parentage most of all, then the women of native birth but immigrant parentage, and least of all the immigrant woman herself.

Not only do city conditions tend to cut down the size of the average family, but they tend to produce a large number of childless marriages. For instance, in Rhode Island one married woman out of every six who has been married more than ten years and whose parents are native born, has had no children. In Cleveland the ratio is about one out of seven, and in Minneapolis it is about one out of eight. On the other hand, the women of native parentage in the rural districts of Ohio and Minnesota show only one marriage out of twenty without children.

Here again the immigrant woman excels her daughters and the daughters of native American parents. In Rhode Island only one married immigrant woman in fifteen has had no children, in Cleveland one in nineteen, in Minneapolis one in sixteen, and in the rural districts it is about one in twenty. And here again the daughters of the immigrant women

fall between their mothers and the women of native American parentage.

It is also interesting to note how much less is the average difference of the ages of the children of immigrant parentage than of native American stock. The native American woman of native parentage has had a child for every five years and four months of her married life, while the immigrant woman has had one for every three years she has been married. Here again the native-parentage, city-living wife shows the greatest tendency to race suicide, while her country-living sister, though not receiving as frequent visits from the stork as the immigrant woman and her daughter, does have more children than her sister in the city.

A careful study of the figures presented by the Immigration Commission, taken in conjunction with the statistics of birth- and death-rates available in the United States, indicates that if America were dependent for her future population upon the American woman who lives in the city and whose parents were native born, there would be a decline in population from decade to decade. It also indicates that if immigration should cease and the birth-rate of all American women of native parentage should be continued, we would just a little more than hold our own in population. On the other

hand, with the large number of immigrant women coming to America and the partiality of the stork for their homes and the homes of their daughters, it seems certain that the country will continue to expand in population from decade to decade.



## XXI

### DESCENDANTS OF IMMIGRANTS

**A**S has been indicated in previous chapters, once the immigrant gets settled in America and carves out a home for himself and his posterity, marked changes come over him, and in many respects the after-generations become unlike their progenitors. Not only is this true in such ephemeral and fleeting qualities as customs, language, dress, and the like, but it affects the more permanent characteristics such as stature, shape of the head, fecundity, and disposition. In dress the transition from European peasant to American citizen sometimes does not take place with the immigrant, but certainly does not wait longer than the first generation before taking place. One is reminded of the little scrap of doggerel about Mary, the immigrant's daughter, who "had a little hat no bigger than a stopper," but who soon "got rid of that, and now she wears a whopper."

The great majority of the children of immigrants learn to speak English and soon use

it as their regular tongue. Very few of the grandchildren of immigrants adhere to the tongue of their fathers in Europe. But there are cases where the mother tongue persists through long generations. Terence V. Powderly, the efficient chief of the Division of Information of the Bureau of Immigration, tells of an experience he had in Lancaster County, Penn., which illustrates the tendency of some people to hold to the customs of the fatherland. He was out on immigration business and went to a livery stable to hire a horse and buggy. The owner of the stable was a Pennsylvania Dutchman. All of the horses were out except the family driving horse. This nag was hitched up and Powderly started on his journey, but he soon found that the horse could not understand English, and so, since he could not speak German, he had to adopt horse language Esperanto and lead the steed back to the stable. That liveryman's ancestors had been in Pennsylvania for a century and a half, and yet his driving horse did not understand "Whoa" or "Giddap."

While it has been demonstrated that there is a remarkable amount of insanity among immigrants, and while insanity is usually regarded as an inheritable disease, there is nothing to indicate that the percentage of in-

sane among the descendants of immigrants is any greater than that among people of pure American stock with American ancestry running back a century. How much more frequently the thread of reason is broken in the alien mind is illustrated by the investigations of the Census Bureau into insanity and feeble-mindedness in hospitals and institutions. This investigation shows that while twenty out of every hundred people ten years old and over in the United States were of foreign birth, thirty-four out of every every hundred inmates of hospitals and institutions for the insane and feeble-minded were of foreign birth. In other words, while the foreign-born element ten years old and over, constitutes one-fifth of our population, it makes up one-third of our insane and feeble-minded charges.

That this tendency toward insanity and feeble-mindedness is not communicated to the descendants of immigrants is revealed by the inquiry of the Census Bureau into the parentage of the native-born inmates of these institutions. This shows that 273 out of each thousand inmates are the children of foreign-born parents, while 277 out of each thousand in the population of the country are the children of immigrants. In other words, the figures show that the children of immigrants are just

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a shade less inclined to insanity and feeble-mindedness than the children of native Americans.

There has been much speculation as to the causes of insanity among immigrants. The freedom from undue inclination toward insanity displayed by their children would seem to show that it is more a matter of environment than inherited taint. Those who controvert this idea declare that the reason the children of immigrants show as great freedom from insanity as the native American population lies in the fact that they are still too young to make a different showing. They point to other Census figures which indicate that when native-born and immigrant-born people of the same ages are considered, the native born have some advantage. Yet this advantage is narrowed down to a beggarly three per cent, whereas, in a comparison between the immigrant and the native, it amounts to fifteen per cent.

Some of the high rate of insanity among aliens is accounted for by the great difficulty of inspecting immigrants thoroughly enough to keep out every person of diseased mind. When, on rush days, only two minutes can be given to each immigrant at Ellis Island, it will be seen how hard it would be for doctors to detect every person showing mental unbalance.

This accounts for a large number coming in who already have had attacks of insanity. The most highly civilized nations show a larger number of insane than those not so high up in the scale of civilization. For instance, while there were in institutions 88 Bohemians per 100,000 of Bohemian population, when the Census Bureau made its investigations, there were 307 Canadians and 238 Norwegians.

But more than all this, according to some of the doctors who have had long experience in immigration inspection work, is the great change in environment which the immigrant undergoes. Instead of his peaceful little cottage home back in some quiet village, he suddenly finds himself in a very maelstrom of humanity, commerce, and industry, calculated to shatter even the nerves of those who live amid pleasant surroundings and in happy homes. Such conditions are more likely to send to the madhouse the lonely foreigner who ekes out a living in some sweatshop by day and spends his nights in miserable tenements where comfort and peace have always yielded place to filth and misery. When the immigrant under such conditions contrasts his little cottage home he left behind with his new surroundings, what wonder homesickness overcomes him and is often succeeded by a wrecked mind?



But, fortunately, his children escape such a heavy toll.

We have seen how the bodily form of the immigrant's descendants changes, and this is one of the most remarkable phases of the whole immigration question. Anthropologists have been much surprised to see the most fixed of all the racial characteristics change under the influence of American conditions. Of course a race which has lived for generations under tropical suns will have the mark thereof burnt into their faces, and residence in colder climates tends to obliterate these marks. But when the very bones themselves undergo changes, changes that cannot be attributed to heavy work or other like conditions, anthropologists become puzzled to account for them.

What makes the skull of the round-headed immigrant turn long-faced in his children? And what makes the long face of other classes of immigrants tend to round-headedness in their posterity? These are questions to which no acceptable answers have been given. Again, what makes the descendants of immigrants mature earlier than the immigrants themselves matured, and what makes the descendants of some races of immigrants grow shorter in stature while the descendants of other races of immigrants grow taller? For instance, the



Bohemians lose stature, but their faces grow longer and their heads wider. On the other hand, the Sicilians gain in stature and in the width of their faces, but lose in the width of their heads. Why does America have one effect on one race and diametrically the opposite effect upon other people in practically the same surroundings?

Some one suggested that all this was due to the fact that there was a similar change among these races going on in their European homes. But when this matter was investigated it was found that the Sicilian who came over as an immigrant thirty years ago bore practically the same measurements as the one who comes to-day. And the same was true of the Bohemian, and of the other races investigated.

If, then, Americanization is an influence powerful and far-reaching enough to change the most permanent of all the characteristics of a race, to make man over a different physical mould, what must be its influence on his tastes, his ambitions, his manner of thinking? What wonder is it that we see tens of thousands of men who were born in other countries gazing upon the flag of their fatherlands with a quiet indifference, but cheering to the echo when the Star Spangled Banner is unfurled to the

breeze? What wonder that there are twenty million children of immigrants in the United States in whose hearts there exists a patriotic fire that is thoroughly American? What wonder that there are some two-score millions more Americans, grandchildren of immigrants, who are as thoroughly American as those whose ancestry goes back to Jamestown and Plymouth Rock?

That most of them remember with affection their ancestral home is no more to be charged against their devoted Americanism than is the pride of a Massachusetts man who traces his line back to Plymouth, or that of the South Carolinian whose forefathers were French Huguenots. They all are Americans and America is theirs.





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A GREEK PEASANT.

## XXII

### PADRONES AND PEONS

WHEN Italian immigration first set to American shores ignorance of the English language and lack of knowledge of labour conditions in the United States compelled labourers from Italy to depend upon their employers almost as children depend upon their fathers. These employers usually were small contractors who had acquired a working knowledge of English and a fair acquaintance with American labour conditions, through several years of apprenticeship as labourers. They would hire their fellow-countrymen to work for them, usually board them, and be their advisers in all things. This peculiar situation led the new immigrants to call their employers, "padrones," just as in Italy the wife usually called her lord and master her padrone.

The padrone system in this country is at present confined to those races which have little aptitude for acquiring a working knowledge of English. The Italians, with whom the padrone system began in the United States,

have outgrown it and manage their own affairs. There is an exception in the case of organ-grinders and a few women and children. Contact with Americans always ends the system.

The Syrian peddlers who peddle drygoods and notions in the city and country were for a number of years under a padrone system. The peddlers were furnished their outfits by the padrone, who also boarded them, and they were given either a salary or commissions on their sales. But peddling became unprofitable and the Syrians who continued to engage in the work soon learned to manage their own affairs, until now the padrone system as applied to Syrians is seldom encountered.

At present it flourishes mainly among the Bulgarians, Turks, Macedonians, Greeks, and Mexicans. Among the Bulgarians and Turks it is on the decline, but it still affects labourers of these races in factories, mills, foundries, and on the railroads. Among the Macedonians, the system for the most part affects the peddlers of fruits and candies. Among the Greeks the system still affects some railroad labourers, and prevails to some extent among the flower, fruit, and vegetable venders of New York and Chicago, but it principally exists among the shoe-shining parlours, where boys from twelve to seventeen years of age are in demand.



The Greek flower venders in New York are usually boys under sixteen years of age, hired by florists who send them to Park Row and other points to sell old stock that cannot be sold in the stores. The boys employed by the florists usually live in good quarters, are given their board, and paid from \$50 to \$100 a year for their work. The boys who sell vegetables, fruits, and candies usually live in basements or other filthy surroundings, sometimes over horse stables. Their bedrooms are small, poorly ventilated, and usually filled to their capacity with beds. These have no sheets, no pillow cases, and at times no pillows. The only coverings are cheap blankets from Greece, which become foul-smelling under prolonged absence from the washtub. Sometimes three and four boys must sleep in one bed. The supply of unsold stock is kept overnight in these quarters, usually under the beds. Each peddling company has from three to four wagons and from four to eight boys. Three or four nights out of each week they have beef stews and beans or potatoes for their one square meal for the day. The other nights they get nothing but bread, cheese, and black olives. They start to work by sunup and work until sundown.

In the shoe-shining business, the boys live in

insanitary quarters, sleep with all the windows down, and either have to share their beds with two or three other boys, or roll up in blankets on the floor. In large establishments, one of the boys remains at home in the morning and prepares the midday and evening meals. The midday meal usually consists of black olives, bread, and cheese. The boy who stays at home brings the meal down to the shop, the padrone apportions it, and one boy at a time retires behind the partition to eat. The boys get up about five in the morning and seldom reach home until after ten at night.

Frequently the padrones, in order to save rent for the boys' lodgings, get them an hour's walk from the shop, and the boys must walk the distance twice a day, for no carfares are allowed. They never get a holiday, for the shop is open three hundred and sixty-five days in the year. Padrones forbid the boys to have anything to say to Greeks except in their presence, and they do everything they can to keep them in ignorance of English. They usually insist upon reading all letters the boys receive, and force them to lie about their age and the conditions of their work, if they are allowed to answer questions at all. They scrutinize all letters the boys send home, so their relatives will not know of the straits they are in. The

only chance they have to go to church is during Holy Week and on Easter Morning, when they are permitted to go between ten o'clock at night and four in the morning.

The ravages which such a life imposes upon the constitutions of boys are appalling. The prevalence of tuberculosis is extensive, super-induced by their manner of life, their inhalation of millions of microbes in the dust of customers' shoes, and of the injurious odours of the polishing chemicals. The Greek Consul General at Chicago says the majority of the boys contract tuberculosis, and that in his opinion, and that of a large number of Greek doctors, it would be more humane for them to be refused admission into the United States than to allow them to come here if they intend to enter such employment.

The rise of the shoe-shining parlour and the Greek padrone system began about fifteen years ago. One of the pioneer padrones is credited with having opened more than a hundred parlours. Most of the boys at first came from Arcadia. As the business grew all Greece was called on for boys, and some of the early boot-blacks themselves became padrones, as rigorous in their treatment of the boys as their own masters had been.

In 1903 a number of other padrones decided

to form a shoe-shining trust, but the Bureau of Immigration objected so strongly, because of their violations of the contract labour laws, that they apparently gave up the project. All sorts of methods of evading the immigration laws are used, and it is conceded to be almost impossible to stop the incoming tide of boys destined to these shops.

The wages paid by the padrones range from \$80 to \$250 a year. If you frequent a Greek shoe-shining parlour and want to tip the boy you might as well abandon the idea, for you are only helping the padrone to pay the boy's salary. The average wage of the boys is from \$120 to \$180 a year, and his tips usually amount to the latter sum. But, as soon as you leave, that tip goes into the padrone's little tip-box, and the poor boy sees it no more. It has been shown by the investigations of the Bureau of Immigration that the tips the padrone takes away from his boys more than suffice to pay their salaries and their board bill, so that their work costs him nothing.

When the Immigration Commission took up its work it decided to look into peonage conditions in the United States, as well as to get information concerning peonage. Indeed, under sensational representations in many periodicals, Congress itself instituted an investigation

of the charges of peonage. The Commission appointed a committee of its members to take up the matter. The most interesting discovery made was the fact that there is no law upon the statute books prohibiting simple slavery. While the Thirteenth Amendment prohibits slavery, the Commission says that "if a person simply places or holds another in slavery, it is impossible for the Federal Courts to impose penalties under United States laws, unless the placing or holding be for the purpose of forcing a settlement of a debt, no matter how great may be the abuses perpetrated upon the person held. In the *Clyatt* case the Supreme Court unmistakably held that the peonage statute referred only to cases where the return, arrest, or holding has been for the purpose of enforcing a debt."

The main charge of the existence of peonage was in connection with the building of the Florida East Coast Railway extension over the Florida keys to Key West. This was investigated and the Commission found no real evidence of peonage. Later it investigated conditions in Maine and declared that since the evils of involuntary servitude have been largely stamped out in the South, there has probably existed in Maine the most complete system of peonage in the entire country. In late years the



natives who formerly supplied the labour for the logging concerns have been engaged in the paper mills, and the lumber concerns have been compelled to import labour, largely foreigners, from other states. Boston is the chief labour market, and the employment agents frequently tell the labourers that the camps will be but a few miles from good towns, where they can come frequently for recreation and enjoyment. Arriving at the outskirts of civilization, the men are hauled for some distance into the forest and then compelled to march some sixty or seventy miles into the woods. The state legislature, at the request of the lumber concerns, passed a law requiring labourers to work out all advances made to them on account of travelling expenses, outfitting, and the like, and the lumbermen use this as a club with which to compel the labourers to stay their time out.







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IMMIGRANTS CHANGING FOREIGN MONEY INTO AMERICAN CURRENCY

## XXIII

### THE IMMIGRANT BANK

**T**HE immigrant bank is an institution which flourishes in every part of the United States where immigrants from southern and eastern Europe are found in considerable numbers. It is a bank that bears no closer resemblance to ordinary banking institutions than a sailboat bears to the big ocean greyhound that brings the immigrants over. It is without capital, except the confidence of the immigrant in his banker; without legal responsibility, except what little the common law might place upon it; without regulation, except what the exigencies of business require; and wholly without legal control by duly constituted state or national authorities.

Immigrant bankers are, as a rule, also steamship ticket agents, and usually conduct other businesses of some kind. Frequently they run the neighbourhood grocery store, and there is little chance of bad debts when they carry both the accounts payable and the accounts receivable of their customers. Often they are

the neighbourhood saloon-keepers, and the banker who runs a saloon and an immigrant bank combined is always prosperous.

But the proprietor of the immigrant bank, though he may also be a saloon-keeper or a grocer, is not entirely mercenary. He not only is always ready to handle the immigrants' savings, but obliges them by writing their letters, receiving their mail, giving them advice, and doing everything a good neighbour might be expected to do. His ability and willingness to help them in all their small—but to them important—affairs, naturally gives him the advantage over regular banking institutions, and makes him an important factor in the life of the new immigrant.

The immigrant's deposits are not subject to check, they draw no interest, and there is no requirement that the banker shall keep a reserve fund on hand to take care of any possible "run on the bank." The banker simply plays the rôle of custodian of the funds, and uses them in his own business without let or hindrance. The transmission of the money of immigrants to their friends and relatives abroad is an important part of the business of every immigrant banker. It is estimated that this business amounts to more than a quarter of a billion dollars a year. The immigrant

banker usually has the money orders of some big banking house whose credit is good on the other side, and these orders are sold to the immigrants who wish to send money home, the immigrant banker and the big banking house dividing the profit of the exchange.

The best information available shows that there are nearly three thousand of these banks in operation in the United States, and that New York City alone has about a thousand of them. They never have flourished among immigrants from northwestern Europe, for the reason that the immigrants from those countries have readily fallen in with the regular American banking system. To the immigrant from eastern and southern Europe the steamship company that brought him over, and its agents, are the only connecting links between him and the fatherland. He looks forward to the day when he can bring his family from Europe or return there himself.

Nothing is more natural, under these conditions, than that he should deposit his savings with the steamship agent in preparation for that day. It is not long before the steamship agent has the nucleus of a banking business, and his assumption of the rôle of banker quickly follows. And then, this confidence assures him that if he opens up still another

business he will get the immigrants' trade. So he becomes a saloon-keeper, a grocer, or something like that. It also happens, on the other hand, that the saloon-keeper or the grocer is led into the banking business by the demands of his patrons. Here is a customer who brings his savings to his grocer to keep over Sunday because he has a safe in which to lock them up. Another follows suit, and still others, until the grocer is a banker before he knows it.

The immigrant banker deals almost wholly with a floating population of alien labourers. Having just arrived, almost wholly beyond the influence of Americanization, completely ignorant of American banking methods, easily influenced by racial appeal and largely dependent upon leaders of their own nationality, they flock to the immigrant banker. A successful Italian banker, in commenting upon the ignorance and trustfulness of his patrons, pointed out the ease with which he could exploit them should he so desire. Often they lose their deposit receipts and forget how much is due them. They accept without question his statement of the amount. A member of a leading steamship agency which acts as a depositing agency, in trying to encourage immigrants to patronize regular American banks, declares that, without solicitation, his agency



could command \$200,000 in immigrant deposits, so frequent and insistent are the requests from the immigrants that it act as custodian of their funds.

The ordinary American bank is looked upon with suspicion by the new immigrant, and, furthermore, it has no facilities for rendering the sort of banking service the immigrant needs. When they see the magnificence of the rooms of some of our big banks they stand aghast, and are sure that no bank can be honest which has (what seems to them) such extravagant appointments. The equipment of American banks prevents them from entering into a fair competition with the immigrant banker. A Slovak immigrant banker, in apologizing to an American for the appearance of his banking room, declared that it was necessarily ill-kept, because the men came to the bank in their working clothes, often intoxicated, and usually smoking, chewing, and spitting without regard to cuspidors.

While there are many large and carefully conducted immigrant banks in the United States, there are many more small ones which are indifferently conducted. Some of the large ones fail at times. A Croatian banker in New York, who had branches and agencies throughout the country, failed to the extent of \$600,-

ooo in 1908. In some of the banks no receipts are given and no pass-books issued. The alien press frequently helps keep alive a prejudice against American institutions, often because those who control the papers are immigrant bankers. A certain Slovak banker is the religious leader of his people, and the organizer of a national Slovak society. Although he has become an American citizen, in the several publications he issues, ranging from a daily paper to a yearly almanac, he preaches Pan-Slovakism. He transmits more than two million dollars to Europe and sells some six thousand steamship tickets every year.

Sometimes immigrant bankers obtain a postal sub-station in their places of business, and use this as a means to encourage their people to patronize them. One Italian banker who operated such a station in connection with his bank, made it appear that he was doing a government business. He failed, with liabilities of more than a quarter of a million dollars.

The investigation of the Immigration Commission shows that comparatively few of the immigrant bankers keep an adequate reserve fund on hand, and also that there are many scoundrels who set up immigrant banks just long enough to get a good line of deposits, and then abscond, leaving the poor immigrants

without a cent of their savings. There are frequent instances where the bankers, in perfect good faith, make use of the funds deposited with them, and fail from making injudicious investments.

The amount deposited by the immigrant in an immigrant bank seldom exceeds one hundred dollars, and the amount sent back to Europe at a time averages about \$35. The bulk of the savings goes back through the immigrant banks rather than through the postal money order system, because the immigrant does not know how to make out the application blank and the postal clerk cannot undertake to do it for him. Yet, in spite of this drawback, the postal service transmits about \$75,000,000 a year in post-office money orders.

Many immigrant bankers undertake to transmit money after they find themselves on the verge of failure. They receive the money, but do not transmit it, although pretending to. It may take a month or more to discover that something is wrong, and meanwhile the banker absconds and leaves nothing behind. Some of them have paid editorials in the alien newspapers telling of their great success as bankers, and recommending themselves as the best mediums for the transmission of money to Europe. The superintendent of banks for the

state of New York estimates that there is probably two million dollars a year lost to immigrants through the operations of immigrant bankers.

Based upon its investigations the Immigration Commission declares that some method of regulating these banks and of protecting the depositors seems imperative. The failure or absconding of an immigrant banker brings disaster to the one who can least afford it, and sweeps away the savings of one who has lived like a dog and endured the greatest hardships that American industry requires of human flesh. As to the nature of the security to be exacted of the immigrant banker the Commission makes no recommendation. The remedy probably will have to come through state laws rather than by congressional enactment.

## XXIV

### IMMIGRANT CHARITY SEEKERS

**I**T has been recognized that there are thousands of immigrants who come to America and get lost in the busy life of this bustling country. While the immigration laws endeavour to exclude those who are likely to become public charges, there are no fixed rules by which such things can be determined. In spite of the most rigid enforcement of the law, consistent with the interests of the immigrant and the country to which he comes, there are always prospective charity seekers who thread their way through the immigrant station.

How many such there are was never accurately ascertained until the Immigration Commission began investigating the matter. Not only did it gather what data it could in the few years allotted, but it also digested the statistics of the Census Bureau on pauperism in America, and those, also, of the Bureau of Immigration, the figures of the two bureaus extending from 1850 to 1908. Its own plans of investigation



were made after conferences with the officials of the field department for the extension of organized charity in the United States. In addition to receiving general information concerning charitable assistance rendered to immigrants in certain typical industrial centres, it secured data relative to aid furnished immigrants during certain periods by charity organizations in a number of typical cities.

Information was secured concerning more than thirty thousand cases of people who had received charitable assistance, and it was found that nearly two-fifths of these cases were those of immigrants, while only one-tenth of them were cases of children of immigrants. In Milwaukee, Buffalo, and Cleveland two-thirds of the cases were immigrants; and the percentage in Boston, Chicago, and San Francisco was more than three-fifths. In a number of cities more than half of the cases were immigrants. The inquiry revealed the fact that there were nearly four people dependent upon the average immigrant who received assistance. It furthermore showed that the immigrants, as a whole, tried to get along, and that only in one-fifth of these cases presented was the fault that of the breadwinner. In three-fifths of the cases aid was necessary because the breadwinner lacked employment or had insufficient wages to



support those dependent upon his labour. The hardships of the family were less frequently due to the neglect or bad habits of the breadwinner in cases of immigrants, than in the cases of native Americans, and, in the case of the immigrant, they affected fewer dependents.

A silent commentary upon the greater dangers to which the immigrant is exposed, when compared with the native born, is seen in the nature of cases which require charity. Of the American charity seekers aided, 27.7 per cent were aided because of the death or disability of the breadwinner; in the case of immigrants, 30.2 per cent.

Some races are much more given to seeking charity because of the neglect or bad habits of their breadwinners than others. More than one-fourth of the charity cases among the Finns, the Lithuanians, and the Norwegians was due to the neglect or bad habits of the head of the family, while in the case of the Dutch, the Hebrews, the Italians, and the Syrians less than one-eighth of the charity seeking was due to these causes. The Syrians experienced more difficulty in getting along because of lack of employment or insufficient earnings than any other race, and they did not seek charity for many other reasons. Three out of every

four cases of relief sought among them was the result of no work or low earnings. On the other hand, less than half of the Swedes were helped upon these grounds.

As in nearly all of the other statistical inquiries by which immigrants, their children, and native Americans may be compared, this one shows that the children of immigrants approximate the native standards, as a rule, and fall between the immigrant and the American of native parentage. The children of immigrants received aid less frequently because of old age than the children of native parents, and likewise needed aid fewer times because of deaths or disabilities in the families. On the other hand, among the children of immigrants there was a larger number of breadwinners whose dependents sought charity because of neglect or bad habits than either among the immigrants themselves or among native Americans. Likewise, they were more frequently out of work or had insufficient earnings than either of the other classes.

When the immigrant sought charity his needs were greater, because he had a larger family than the native. There were twice as many families of ten or more among the immigrants aided, more than twice as many families of nine and nearly twice as many fami-

lies of six, seven, and eight, respectively. It will be seen from this that one reason why the immigrant seeks charity so frequently is the fact that he has such a large family that any untoward incident in the family economy leaves him unable to meet the demands upon him.

The charity cases examined show that the immigrant respects the marriage bond more than the native American. While approximately eleven out of every hundred cases among native Americans were those of women who had been deserted or who were separated from their husbands, among the immigrants assistance for that cause was required in less than eight out of every hundred cases. And almost without exception the races from southern and eastern Europe showed the lowest percentage of desertion and neglect.

The immigrant, as a rule, hesitates to seek charity until he has been in America for four years. Seven-eighths of all the cases presented in the Immigration Commission's report were those of immigrants who had been in America for more than four years. Of course, if they become a public charge at an early date after landing they are liable to deportation, and this may lead them to keep their misery to themselves.

One is surprised at the number of those

seeking charity who are able to speak English. The natural inference would be that those who cannot speak the American tongue would have the hardest time to get adequate work, and that this would bring a larger percentage of them to the charity relief organizations. But only about three per cent of the children of immigrants who seek charity are unable to speak English, and less than one-fourth of the immigrant charity seekers themselves are unable to do so.

The care taken to admit only able-bodied immigrants and dependents who have relatives both able and willing to support them, has tended to reduce to a minimum the need for charity, and pauperism is the exception and not the rule. But it was not always so. In the earlier days, when immigration was unregulated, immigrant pauperism was one of the most serious evils of immigration, and this was enhanced by the fact that many European communities preferred to pay the cost of transporting their paupers to America rather than provide for them in almshouses. It is recorded that in many instances a large proportion of an entire shipload of immigrants would be so destitute that it was necessary to transport them directly to poorhouses, where they were cared for until they could get work. The

records of the poorhouses of that day show that they were a refuge for thousands of immigrants who had just arrived in America with no other asset than the scant clothes upon their backs.

One of the things which helps to keep down the number of charity-seeking immigrants is the fact that those who come over and fail in their battle for living may be returned within three years at the expense of the government. Often it happens that when an immigrant finds America too hard for him, he suddenly develops symptoms of incurable disease, and finds himself unable to work. He keeps up the deception until he reaches the immigration authorities, and if he can convince them, he is sent back to his native land without expense to himself.

On the whole, the immigrant must be commended for his pluck in fighting the battle of life. He frequently has to start out in lines of work which afford the smallest compensation and, when he is married, he usually has more than his share of mouths to feed. Large families and low wages mean a very stern fight with poverty. And, furthermore, his burden is made heavier by the lack of helpful encouragement from the native Americans around him. His problem of earnings meet expenses is an ever-



present one. He has little chance to lay by anything for a rainy day and when the rainy day comes he simply does without the necessities he cannot buy. He makes a noble, if unheralded, fight against adversity, and the wonder is that he is not forced to seek charity more often than he does.

On the whole, it cannot be said that the immigrant peoples have added to the burdens of those who provide for the unfortunate. Much of the actual misery among them is relieved by the people of their own race and, it must be said, that much charity has been dispensed to native Americans by the generosity of those who themselves came here through Ellis Island.







## XXV

### IMMIGRANTS FROM ASIA

SO far as the coming of immigrants from China, Japan, and Korea is concerned, conditions are now regarded as satisfactory. The Chinese Exclusion Law operates so well, and the agreement with Japan is carried out with such good faith by the Japanese government, that there are no changes recommended by the Immigration Commission. But there is another tide of Asiatic immigration that is giving much concern to the Pacific Coast. This is the stream of humanity coming from India. These East Indian coolies are Aryans, and belong to that immigrant tide which swept out of the cradle of the race far up in northwestern Asia, and down through the lands of the Medes and Persians into India. But, according to the findings of the Immigration Commission, they are, from no point of view, desirable members of the community. The British government, whose subjects they are, acceded a few years ago to Canada's

desire to exclude them. That turned the tide to the Pacific Coast of our own country. The Commission recommends that steps be taken to induce the British government to stop their coming to the United States by the same policy that Japan prevents Japanese labour from coming.

The East Indians are entering the United States at the rate of about a thousand a year. Of these nearly seven-eighths are Hindus wearing the turban. The first important immigration of East Indian labourers into the United States came from British Columbia, where, as a result of the activity of steamship agents and the spread of Canadian literature in India, there arrived over five thousand of them in four years. As soon as Canada decided that these immigrants were undesirable, they were denied admission unless coming direct from their native land upon through tickets. The amount of money required to be shown was also advanced from \$25 to \$200. Since there are no steamship lines direct to Canada from India, the intent of Canada to exclude the East Indian is plain.

The Hindu labourers who had already come to Canada soon found that the winters of that country were too rigorous for them, and furthermore, that the lumber mills and salmon in-

dustry in Washington and Oregon offered better wages than they were getting in British Columbia. Of course, when a labourer could get \$1.60 a day for his work on this side of the line, and only 80 cents to \$1.25 a day on the other side, he was not long in crossing the line.

But when Canada barred her boundaries against them, immigration from British Columbia soon exhausted the supply, and those who come now are directly from India. Considered by the government as the most undesirable class of immigrants who ever came to American shores, a policy of most rigid inspection has been adopted at Pacific Coast ports, and if there is any possible reason for excluding a Hindu, he is promptly turned back upon the steamship company for transportation back to India. Nearly one-half of all those who come are rejected. Yet, in spite of the strictest interpretation of the law, they still continue to come, and it is the opinion of the Immigration Commission that unless some radical measures of exclusion are adopted, they may insist upon coming into this country in large numbers.

Nearly all of the Hindu immigrants have been agricultural labourers in India. A large majority of them come here ambitious to save

\$2,000 and then return home. However, many of them come to stay permanently, predicating their determination upon British oppression at home. Most of them are not physically sturdy enough to meet with favour as construction labourers or section hands on the railroads, so the only thing left to them is to become farm labourers. Here their work is limited almost wholly to hoeing and weeding. In most of the communities, because of their dirty appearance and their turbans, they find it difficult to get work. They usually go from place to place in small gangs, with one of their number as leader, business manager, and interpreter. Many of them find great difficulty to secure work during the winter months. The Commission calls their competitive position the most insecure of any race, and says that when other labour is available the Hindus find little favour with employers.

The standard of living among the Hindus in California is lower than that of any of the races with whom they compete. Having no families, they usually have no furniture and sleep upon blankets on the floor or ground. They generally cook upon a grate placed over a fire built in a hole in the ground. If there happen to be members of different castes in the gang, those of each caste mess separately,



and all food eaten must be prepared by a member of the caste eating it. They will not eat any meat that they do not kill and dress themselves, so they get but little of it. The strength of their caste feeling is revealed by the fact that when placed in jail for petit larceny or other misdemeanours, they consistently refuse food not brought and prepared by members of their own caste. One of them fasted for ten days rather than eat food not prepared by his caste. The jail authorities kept him from starving to death only by providing him a stove upon which he could prepare his own food.

The average Hindu spends about twenty-five cents a day for his food and thirty dollars a year for his clothes, of which he seldom has a change. Dressing up, with him, consists in changing his turban and putting on his coat. He saves money but sends it back to India as fast as he saves it, so that he seldom has any on hand for periods of unemployment and sickness. They are the most illiterate of all the immigrant races coming to America, and the government has instructed the Federal attorneys everywhere to oppose their being granted citizenship papers. The Commission says their assimilative qualities appear to be the lowest of any race in the West, not barring the Chinese, and that the mass of Western people

oppose their coming as they oppose that of no other race.

The Commission did not investigate the Chinese question generally, it having become largely a minor issue, but it did conclude from evidence presented that there are fewer Chinese in the cities of the West than formerly. The coming of the Chinese began about the time of the discovery of gold in California. In the late seventies Chinese immigration became a live issue. California passed much ineffective state and local legislation, and finally appealed to the government to stop the immigration of Chinese labour. Congress passed an exclusion act, but it was vetoed by President Hayes. Then it was asserted that the agitation was not the result of a general public sentiment but only the mouthings of those whose opinions were not entitled to respect by the lawmakers of the nation. In answer, California submitted the whole matter to a referendum before the people. The result was that out of 162,000 votes cast only a few hundred were registered against exclusion. With this evidence of the unanimity of sentiment Congress passed, and President Arthur signed, the Exclusion Law of 1882, although previously he had vetoed a bill because of some of the provisions contained in the approved measure.

In 1886, after there had been some minor legislation in 1884, China proposed a new treaty, which was signed, excluding the Chinese for twenty years. The Senate amended the treaty in several minor matters, and then China refused to accept it. In this state of affairs President Cleveland signed a law carrying into effect the subject-matter of the treaty. Exclusion was made even more rigid by the law of 1892, which provided that all Chinese in the United States who did not register their presence within a year, should be deported. Its constitutionality was attacked, but upheld by the Supreme Court. Meanwhile, some 90,000 Chinese failed to register and were liable to deportation. As it was found that it would cost some six million dollars to deport them, the time for registration was extended.

In 1894 China negotiated a treaty upon the subject, which was ratified and which provided for the exclusion of all Chinese labourers for a period of ten years. In 1902 there was some further legislation, and when the ten year period, provided by the treaty, expired in 1904 and China refused to recognize the American contention further, Congress passed a law excluding Chinese labour indefinitely, without any reference to China's views upon the

subject. That is the law in force to-day. Because of the devious ways which the Chinese use in smuggling themselves into Uncle Sam's domains, it is said to be the hardest law upon the statute books to enforce.

The story of the restriction of Japanese immigration is too fresh in the minds of readers to need relation at length. The anti-Japanese sentiment had been rising for years, but was brought to a climax when the Japanese refused to send their children to the separate schools established for them, and sought to force their way into the white schools. President Roosevelt sent Secretary Metcalf to make an investigation, and upon the strength of Metcalf's report Roosevelt went so far as privately to threaten to make California come to terms by force of arms. The upshot of the whole matter was an agreement between the two governments that no Japanese should be admitted who did not possess a passport, and that passports should not be issued to labourers.

## XXVI

### HOW THE "NEW" IMMIGRANT LIVES

**A** STUDY of the conditions under which the new immigrant lives after coming to America, serves to convince the student that he is often something of a hero. He often lives in filth and squalor, but frequently it is necessity that compels him to do so. He is sometimes found in camps where conditions are so bad that they would make the best of us indifferent, but he lives in this way so that he may provide for his family, present or prospective. If he has a family with him in America, he shows himself provident of heart by bearing uncomplainingly the hardships of to-day in order that his family's needs may be met to-morrow.

The hundreds of thousands of immigrants who live in camps lead an isolated life. Their daily existence is little more than working, eating, sleeping in endless round. They live in shacks, have about as few of the creature comforts as men may have, and their only diver-



sions are drinking and gambling. Here is a picture of camp life on a great engineering project—the New York Barge Canal—drawn by Peter Roberts:

“Italians formed the major part of the labour force, and the accommodations furnished most of them were shameful. We saw men crawling into pens which few Americans would have their dogs occupy. The cooking these men did was not elaborate; it was easier and pleasanter to get a loaf of bread, a piece of bologna, and a bottle of beer at the commissary. In these camps the commissary boss is supreme, and the men must buy of him if they wish to retain their jobs. He has both wet and dry goods for sale, and believes in charging all the traffic will bear. Often he collects a fee for each man to whom he gives work. The coarse, vulgar elements of human nature come to the fore; the indecent story, the vulgar joke, and the immoral picture are passed around. Conditions of this kind can only be duplicated in some towns in southern Italy. The workmen are removed from all agencies that mould and shape coming Americans; deprived of the refining influences of women and the soothing touch of childhood.”

The women of the immigrant community appreciate the help and encouragement of



American women—something they do not often get. The life of these women is seldom easy and often hard and dreary. Their homes have many births and many deaths. They are as meek and submissive in the home as the men are at work. An instance of what a good American may do is that of a Pennsylvania woman who visits the houses of the poor immigrant women in her community and carries to them the gospel of cleanliness. Often these mothers protest that there is some good in dirt and vermin. But the sweet cleanliness of the visitor comes in and the parasites go out. She teaches them how to feed their children, and then invites them to little meetings which she holds. They come washed and neatly dressed, and from month to month their homes grow better kept and their burdens grow lighter.

High rents and a desire to save produce overcrowding among the poor, native or immigrant, but especially among the latter. In a small house in Omaha, forty-six Greeks lived and ate and slept. In an eastern city a Ruthenian, his wife, their two children, and seven boarders occupied one room. In another boarding-house forty-two foreigners lived in four rooms, each room thirteen feet square; while in another place twenty-four foreigners

lived in one room fifteen by eighteen feet. In some of the boarding-houses the beds are used in two shifts—by day workers at night and by night workers in the daytime.

One of the most interesting phases of the investigation of the immigration problem made by the Immigration Commission concerned the condition of the homes of immigrants in cities. Perhaps the most striking result was the showing of the large percentage of clean homes among immigrants, in spite of their being forced so often to reside in districts where proper standards of cleanliness are hardest to maintain. The investigation covered more than ten thousand households, in which lived upward of fifty thousand people. These households were located in New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston, Cleveland, Buffalo, and Milwaukee. Four-fifths of these households were in apartments of four rooms or less. A third of them were four-room apartments, and nearly a third were three-room apartments. While nearly all of the households of the new immigration had about five people for every two sleeping-rooms, they still managed to keep things fairly clean in a large majority of their homes. In more than half of the households of the foreigners they had but one room outside of the sleeping-rooms, and in one-eighth

of them they had no rooms except the sleeping-rooms.

In more than one-fourth of the foreign households boarders were kept, while in only one-tenth of the native households were boarders found. As is the rule in most things, the children of immigrants seem to be about half American and half foreigners in this respect. One-sixth of their households have boarders. The equipment of the average foreigner's home was only about half as good as that of native Americans, in such matters as water supply, toilet accommodations, and other facilities. All of these conveniences are found much more frequently among the people of the "old" immigration than among those of the "new." And yet, in spite of all the drawbacks of overcrowding, keeping boarders, having only one room they did not have to sleep in, lacking proper equipment, and the like, only one-seventh of the Syrians had homes in which conditions were bad, only one-fifth of the Slovenians, only one-sixth of the Slovaks, Poles, and Hebrews, and only one-tenth of the Magyars.

The foreigners of the new immigration are famous for their societies. It is estimated that there are a hundred national societies of one kind or another among the Italians of the

country. There are estimated to be seven thousand societies and clubs of all kinds among the Poles of the country, and they have an aggregate membership of some 800,000. Among the Slovenians there are some fifteen hundred clubs and societies, with a total membership approximating 125,000. Among the Slavic peoples in Europe there is a communal tendency. The lands near the villages are cultivated on a communal basis and all prosper, or starve, together. Their societies and clubs in the United States are a reflection of this.

There are a large number of church organizations. Some of these pay sick and death benefits, and nearly all of them are under the ultimate control of the spiritual advisers of the people. There are also many secular organizations looking to the protection of their members in case of sickness and death. The Italian government always has taken a deep interest in the Italian immigrant, and has instituted a protective society for Italian labour, which is supported partly by a government appropriation and partly by monthly payments from its members. Among the Poles there are a large number of military societies. Usually there are one or more such societies in every Polish centre, and the members are drilled like soldiers. A Polish priest has estimated that

there are 20,000 Poles receiving some sort of military training in the United States, in anticipation of the day when their beloved Poland attempts to free itself from the grip of Russia.

The main body of the "new" immigration is Catholic. Out of a million immigrants arriving probably six hundred thousand are of Catholic affiliations. It is estimated that during the past twenty years ten million Catholics have come to America. To shepherd these millions of souls, speaking thirty different languages, to soothe race hatred and national prejudices, and do the many other things that such a situation involves, are problems the like of which no ecclesiastical body ever has had to meet.

When the foreigner takes his recreation it is usually in a spirit of relaxation. They go at their games in a leisurely, easy-going way, that is not calculated to quicken the pulse or excite the enthusiasm. They love their holidays, however, and have as many of them as the exigencies of their employment will permit. Holy and festal days and weddings and christenings are happy times with them.

Largely banished by poverty to the poorer parts of our cities, compelled by circumstances to live among surroundings that are often unwholesome, in neighbourhoods that frequently

are skirted by the worst elements of our native life, treated with contempt by the majority of the native population, it is no wonder that the immigrant often seems unresponsive to American ideals and disposed to hold out against a process of assimilation. Men and women who patiently can bear the things that the average "new" immigrant must bear, are, according to those who know them best, men who will leave after them a progeny worthy of their adopted country.



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## XXVII

### SOME UNSOLVED PROBLEMS

**T**HAT there are still many unsolved problems in the handling of the immigrant tide coming to America is a fact patent to every student of the question. Some of these problems are so knotty as to baffle the most earnest attempts to settle them fully and satisfactorily. Most prominent among them is the question of qualifications for entering the country. The House of Representatives insists that the situation demands an educational qualification for entrance. That there is a very large percentage of ignorant immigrants coming into the United States from eastern and southern Europe, the figures of the Bureau of Immigration prove. More than a third of the Syrians, Ruthenians, and South Italians are unable to read; more than a fourth of the Croats, Russians, and Servians; and more than a fifth of the Bulgarians, Greeks, Lithuanians, and Poles, are in the same category. A literacy test would keep these people out.

In the early days of the American nation

tens of thousands of people who were unable to read or write came to the United States and became the progenitors of families who to-day form a part of the bone and sinew of the nation, and there are many who assert that history is but repeating itself; that among those who are coming now, who cannot read or write, there are tens of thousands who will become the progenitors of families who will add much to our national human capital. It is claimed that it is not the uneducated foreigner who becomes our anarchist, our alien agitator, or our rebel against American institutions; that an illiterate man with an open mind may be much more fit for admission into our country than the literate one with a mind filled with enmity against our institutions.

Those who favour the literacy test declare that our tide of immigrants is now so large that there are difficulties surrounding its assimilation, and that the time has come when we can pick out immigrants with greater care and make it a select body rather than one that has not been filtered of the undesirables. They contend that with our present supply of incoming foreigners it is better that two fit persons be excluded than that one unfit be admitted. They feel that even with the restrictions drawn so close as to keep out all illiterates, we still

will have leeway enough to choose a sufficient number of good immigrants to tax the assimilable powers of the nation. They do not assert that every illiterate alien is a bad citizen, or that even the majority of them are; they argue that a good immigrant who can read and write is better than a good one who cannot, and that there are enough of the former without having to take the latter.

The majority of those who favour a restricted immigration predicated upon the belief that the tide has become too large for assimilation to keep pace with expansion, favour the literacy test as the best method of checking it. But other methods have been proposed to accomplish the same result. One of these is the limitation of the number of immigrants admitted by restricting the number of each race to a certain percentage. This would simply accept all that come as now, literate and illiterate, up to a certain number and prevent us from exercising a preference for literates over illiterates.

— Still another proposition for restriction is to exclude all unskilled labourers who do not come with their wives or families. It is argued by those who urge this method of restriction, that those who come unaccompanied are usually men who are coming over for the pur-

pose of working a few years and then returning home. It is declared that they tend to restrict the opportunities of labourers who come with their wives and families. It generally is agreed that the man who comes with his wife or his family comes with the intent of making America his home—an intent that tends to make a good citizen of him. Those who oppose this plan agree that there is much in what its advocates say, but, on the other hand, there are so many labourers who come over and get money enough to bring their wives or families later that the provision would shut out tens of thousands of the very people it was meant to help—the men who want to make America their home and the home of their posterity.

Another method proposed for restricting immigration is to limit the number of immigrants arriving at any one port in any one year. By this method, it is urged, New York could be saved from the great congestion that exists there, and the tide of humanity could be better distributed to all parts of the country. This plan is opposed by others because it would throw the immigrant traffic out of its natural channels. Still another method proposed is that of raising the head tax on all immigrants or of raising it on those who are unaccom-



panied by their wives or families. The Immigration Commission concluded unanimously that restriction is demanded by economic, moral, and social considerations, but it rejected every plan of restriction except the literacy test.

It is generally conceded that the immigrant-handling business is such a profitable one that the steamship companies take many chances of being fined a hundred dollars, or of being required to carry back an excludable immigrant. It has been recommended that the fines be made so heavy for a lack of compliance with the law as to render it a dangerous thing for a steamship company to accept passengers whom they should not bring over, or even to connive at the coming of deportable persons. The deported immigrant has a hard life of it. He has staked his all to come, and when the steamship carries him back it is to dump him in some foreign port, without funds, to continue his journey home. Some have proposed that inspection should be made at the ports of embarkation, but the immigration authorities do not agree with this. They say that it would be a case of beginning at the big end of the funnel. Where countries are willing to assist their immigrants, as in Italy and Russia, the Public Health Service stations its men at the

ports of embarkation, and their recommendations as to who will be admitted and who are likely to be excluded, are accepted by the governments in question and by the steamship companies. In this way the evils of deportation are reduced to a minimum.

It is generally conceded that some method must be found of filtering out the criminals who come in on the immigrant tide. The immigration authorities catch a large percentage of them, but there are still too many overlooked. It has been proposed that wherever possible the immigrant be required to show a clean bill of health in the shape of a certificate from his government showing that he is not the possessor of a criminal record. Another proposal is that any alien convicted of a crime within five years after he comes, shall be immediately deported, or deported as soon as his prison sentence ends.

The problem of distribution of immigrants so as to keep them out of the cities and to lead them to the land, has had many solutions proposed, and yet few of them seem likely to accomplish their purpose. The most interesting of these is the proposal to establish a zone of a hundred miles' radius around each port of entry, and to admit no alien who does not possess a railroad ticket for some point beyond

that zone. This proposition is objected to by others on several grounds. One is that the ports themselves would hardly be willing to accept such conditions. For instance, overcrowded as New York is to-day, does one suppose it would be willing to let the immigrant tide pass out of its gates without a fair toll of humanity from it? Another objection is that this would be only a process of filling the coffers of the railroads; that the immigrant might go beyond the zone in question, but would likely drift back again.

A serious problem from the standpoint of the immigrant is how to avert the unpleasant conditions of the detention rooms of immigrant stations. In most of the stations the size of the rooms is adequate for the ordinary needs of the traffic, but, for instance, in the case of Ellis Island, the steamship companies to-day may dump five thousand immigrants out of their steerage quarters. Perhaps three-fifths of these will go through all right, but the other two thousand must be detained for further examination. It is inevitable under such conditions that there will be crowding in the detention rooms. And where perhaps half of the detained know next to nothing about cleanliness, and no insignificant percentage of them arrive with vermin of one kind or another on

their persons, it is inevitable that the detention rooms will not always be clean. At Ellis Island every one admits that there long has been imperative need of more room, and yet, with all the room that a liberal government might provide, conditions would in all likelihood remain such as would grate upon the sensibilities of people who love cleanliness.

## XXVIII

### THE PROBLEMS OF OTHER COUNTRIES

**T**HERE are five leading countries which are now making a bid for immigrants, and which are able to accommodate millions of them. There are few countries in the New World which do not wish a healthy influx of new blood, but only Canada, Argentina, and Brazil have gone about the matter in a careful and systematic way. In the Old World, Australia and New Zealand are standing in the market-place of humanity trying to induce the emigrant to bend his footsteps their way.

Canada offers an interesting example of a country with a definite immigration policy, a policy that consists of recognizing the country's peculiar needs and then enacting a law sufficiently broad and flexible to meet those needs. There are two characteristics about the Canadian immigration policy—the one is to attract settlers to the land and the other is to discourage the coming of such immigrants as tend

to congregate in cities and towns. The United States, the United Kingdom, and certain other countries of northern and western Europe are regarded as furnishing the kind of people Canada needs for its upbuilding, and the Dominion government has carried on a propaganda that has been carefully wrought out and successfully conducted. The Canadians do not try to attract immigration from southern and eastern Europe. In fact, they let it be known that unless such immigrants are headed for the land and not for the cities Canada would rather they would stay at home.

In the earlier years Canada shared with the United States in the immigration from western and northern Europe to some extent, though until the railroads were extended into the great prairie region of Middle Canada and British Columbia, the bulk of this immigration remained in the United States. But when it finally went into Canada there followed a propaganda that has been remarkable for the success that has attended it, and Canada has become one of the great immigrant-receiving nations of the world.

The most significant feature about the Canadian immigration laws is the latitude and discretionary power vested in the immigration authorities. A picked immigration is wanted,



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and the immigration authorities are permitted to do the selecting without being hampered on every hand.

In the propaganda work much advertising is done, advertising by circulars, through the newspapers, through permanent exhibits in big cities, and by travelling exhibits in smaller ones. And then Canada pays a liberal bonus to several thousand booking agents in the countries from which immigrants are sought. A bonus of \$4.86 is paid for each immigrant of certain classes who is enlisted for Canada. It is given for such immigrants as have been for at least one year engaged in the occupation of farmer, farm labourer, gardener, stableman, carter, railway surfaceman, miner, or navy, and who declares his intention of following farming or railway construction in Canada. Grants are also made to the Salvation Army for the purpose of assisting people to come to Canada.

Another plan that Canada has hit upon to encourage immigration is to appoint successful immigrant farmers as delegates to Great Britain, paying them to go about the United Kingdom and tell the people of the wonderful opportunities in Canada. The result of the Canadian campaign and the Canadian policy is that seven-tenths of Canada's immigration

to-day is from northern and western Europe, while eight-tenths of ours is from southern and eastern Europe. Two-thirds of all the homesteads entered during the past decade were taken up by immigrants from Europe and the United States, and of these the United States furnished nearly half.

Canada is also bidding for the immigration of poor and homeless British children. These are brought over under government supervision, and placed in homes where they can grow up with the country and have a chance to become homesteaders in their own right. It is estimated that in the past fifty years more than sixty thousand of these children have been placed in the homes of Canadian farmers. How much greater the demand for the children is than the supply, may be inferred from the statement that in nine years nineteen thousand juveniles were sent over, whereas there were received 130,000 applications for children.

Since the establishment of the Australian Commonwealth in 1901, immigration has become a national question. The general outline of the policy pursued is that Asiatics and Pacific Islanders are excluded and a general plan of making the continent a "white Australia" is followed. Australia has an area

exactly duplicating the area of the landed part of continental United States, and yet it has a population only one-eighteenth as great as that of the United States. More than half of its lands is unoccupied, and a billion acres await settlement. In order to induce settlers to take up unoccupied land, the government allows them to purchase the freehold by the payment of half-yearly installments. Advances are made for the improvement of the lands in all the states except Tasmania. In order to stimulate immigration from the United Kingdom, some of the states pay wholly, or in part, the transportation expenses of persons desiring to settle on the land or to engage in farm or dairy work, or occupations of a similar nature. Domestic servants and other desirable settlers are likewise aided to make the journey. To date more than seven hundred thousand immigrants have been assisted in Australia in this way. Great Britain is now furnishing immigrants to Australia at the rate of about sixty thousand a year, and this represents more than four-fifths of Australia's immigration.

Australia has a literacy test. It requires that no one may enter the commonwealth who cannot write at least fifty words dictated to him by an immigration official. This test may be repeated at any time within a year after the

arrival of the immigrant, and if he fails to pass it he may be deported. However, in practice this test is applied only to the immigrants of those countries where exclusion is desirable.

New Zealand has an area about the size of Colorado, and it has a population approximating a million, of which a fourth was born in the United Kingdom. The tide of immigration is not a very extended one, and now comes mainly from Australia. In eight years it numbered more than a quarter-million souls, three-fourths of them from Australia. New Zealand has for years co-operated with the steamship companies in securing reduced rates for desirable settlers.

The Argentine Republic has a population of about five persons to the square mile, as compared with 25.75 for the United States. Out of its three-quarters of a billion acres of land, only about three hundred million acres are arable, and out of the arable land only one-eighth is under cultivation. In addition to its vast grain-producing possibilities, much of its territory is admirably adapted to grazing, and it has immense timber and mineral resources as yet all but untouched. The Constitution itself provides for the encouragement of immigration, and guarantees to the immigrant the same civil rights enjoyed by citizens. All im-

migrants are exempted by the Constitution from military service for a period of ten years, and the government is expressly denied the power to restrict, limit, or burden with taxes of any kind the foreigners coming to it to cultivate the soil, to improve its industries, or to introduce and teach the sciences and arts.

Within a period of forty-five years Argentina's gates have swung inward to upward of five million souls, and they are now coming at the rate of about three hundred thousand a year. Of these some ninety thousand come from Italy and about 125,000 from Spain. The government provides generously for the immigrant. He is given five days' free board at the expense of the nation after he lands, is carried to his destination from the port of debarkation at the expense of the government, and has his wearing apparel, household goods, and the implements of his trade admitted free. These provisions apply also to his children. They are supported at the expense of the government for a period of not to exceed ten days, until they have opportunity to settle down. This applies to those who go out into the provinces as settlers. At the expiration of this time they may still be boarded and quartered at a charge of fifty cents a day for adults and half rates for children. In case of serious sickness



the state continues to support the immigrant as long as his illness lasts.

Brazil is larger than continental United States and the Kingdom of Spain together, yet it has only two-ninths as many people within its boundaries as the United States. The government wants immigrants and wants them badly. It is willing to provide them with free transportation to Brazil, to transport them free to their destination from the port of debarkation, to provide them with free tools and seeds, and with medicine and care for their families. It seeks to build up a class of peasant proprietors who shall at the same time be available for work on the great coffee plantations. It now gets about seventy thousand immigrants a year, nine-tenths of them being Portuguese, Italians, and Spaniards.



## XXIX

### EMIGRATION TO CANADA

**F**OR many years Canada has made systematic efforts to promote emigration from the United States to its dominions. The propaganda has resulted so successfully that nearly one-third of its immigration comes from our country. We are sending Canada more colonists than it is getting from England and Wales together. Our immigrants are exactly the kind of people Canada is looking for, since they are the best fitted in the world for pioneering in the development of agricultural and other resources in a new territory. In less than eight years the United States has sent nearly four hundred thousand people across the line.

One needs only consult Canada's immigration authorities to see how much they want Uncle Sam's citizens to come into the Dominion. W. J. White, the press agent of the propaganda, says there is not a state in the Union in which Canada is not advertised, the offices of the government being located in

the best agricultural sections where easy communication with the surrounding country may be established. He tells how agents go out and meet the prospective settlers; carry information to them and their friends as to the soil, crops, and the like; how they make the annual rounds of the fall agricultural fairs with exhibits; and how the general work is done.

In addition to the salaried agents, the Canadian government employs a large number of sub-agents, who are paid a bonus of three dollars per head for every man, two dollars per head for every woman, and one dollar per head for every child among the actual settlers they secure. The farm periodicals are used extensively in advertising the attractions of "the last best West," and the country weekly is also made use of. Over seven thousand newspaper advertising contracts were signed in a single year.

Tours of inspection by editorial associations and newspaper writers are arranged at frequent intervals, and they have been found of great value in the work of separating Americans from their allegiance to the Stars and Stripes.

The Canadian government is very well satisfied with the results that have been achieved. Mr. White says it has not been considered ad-

visible to make any changes in the method of advertising; that the plan heretofore pursued has increased the inflow of settlers from the United States in nine years from one thousand a year to sixty thousand a year, and that this is a showing with which Canada may be satisfied. Many of the immigrants dispose of their lands or other property before leaving for Canada, and the Canadian officials estimate that they bring with them to Canada money and property amounting to sixty million dollars a year.

It is probable that nowhere else in the world is any considerable movement made up so largely of agricultural people as the trek of Americans to Canada. More than three-fourths of the Americans going have been engaged in agriculture or its allied industries in the United States. During a period of eight years they took up seventy thousand homesteads in the western provinces. They now constitute nearly half of the farming population of these provinces. Thus is Canada getting from us the very kind of people who transformed our Middle Western States from boundless prairies into communities which are the backbone of American agriculture, the very kind of people it would be most worth while for the United States to keep. The Canadian immigra-

tion authorities admit that they have had to fight heavy competition along this line from immigration agents in Texas and other Western and Southwestern states, and that the strongest consideration they have to overcome in inducing emigration is the reluctance of the people to settle outside the United States.

For a long while the railroads to Texas and other places in the United States where settlers are wanted, gave better rates for excursions of settlers than those leading to Canada, but the Canadian government now has secured rates that enable it to compete with the roads to the Southwest. In ten years Canada spent approximately two million dollars in encouraging immigration from the United States, this being almost half of the total expenditure for the entire immigration propaganda in all parts of the world.

It is certain that no other country labours so persistently to attract the right kind of people as Canada, and it likewise is certain that one of the reasons our immigration from the countries of northern Europe has fallen off is the success of the Canadian immigration propaganda in those fields. Thus Canada is not only recruiting half of its new farming population from the United States itself, but it is drawing the major portion of the other half from territory

which used to be the especial immigrant-furnishing preserves of the United States. It is hoped that the movement of some of the states of sending representatives abroad for the purpose of building up our waning immigrant tide from northwestern Europe may be fruitful. It is realized, however, that those states will have a keen and successful competitor in Canada, and that our success in developing the prairie region of the Mississippi Valley is Canada's greatest argument for the future of its great grain-producing region. Its slogan of "the last best West" has proved a most effective one. It calls forth in the immigrant mind a twentieth century repetition of the history of Wisconsin, Minnesota, and the Dakotas.

While the United States is losing its farmer folk to Canada in such large numbers, Canada is losing its share of people to the United States. Approximately one-fifth of all the people born in the Dominion reside in the United States to-day. And where we are giving Canada some sixty thousand immigrants a year, it is responding with a counter current of some fifty thousand immigrants to the United States. Of these, approximately one-half are native-born Canadians, while the others are naturalized Canadians. However, a relatively small proportion of this immigration is of the



same kind we are sending to Canada. It takes our farmers and in return gives us skilled and unskilled labourers.

The assertion is made in some quarters that this exodus of labour from Canada is largely due to the incoming tide of immigration, the native workmen being replaced by the immigrant and forced to seek employment elsewhere. An example of how this has happened in the United States is cited in the case of many American industries in which native labour has been replaced almost entirely by immigrant labour. In this connection it is pointed out, however, that in nearly every instance the effect of the coming of immigrant labour has been to force the native workingman up and not out. The big supply of immigrant labour has so expanded the industries of the country that the native workingman has found a full supply of picked jobs instead of being forced to accept "the run of the mine."

A large proportion of the immigrants coming from Canada to the United States are French Canadians who come to work in the mills of New England. It thus happens that the tide out of the United States goes largely from the Middle West, while the tide into the United States comes into the Northeast. While the Canadians who come to the United



States are, in the main, a desirable immigration, it is generally realized that the best immigrant from an economic standpoint is the one who goes upon the land, and therefore that Canada gets the better of us in the annual immigrant exchange between Uncle Sam and John Canuck.

The Canadian immigration law, as pointed out in another article of this series, is admirably adapted to the needs of a new country which wants the best class of immigrants. Its flexibility is regarded as its best quality. For instance, any one getting his way paid into the United States is shut out without question. In Canada, such immigrants may be admitted upon the approval of the Canadian immigration representative in London.

Canada knows thoroughly how to accomplish a desired end without direct offence against any one. Some years ago Hindu immigration began to increase and Canada thought best to check the incoming tide quickly and completely. But it was not willing to put itself in the open position of denying admission to British subjects. A little headwork, and presto! the thing was done with no feelings hurt! Recalling that there were no means on earth whereby Hindus could make a continuous journey from India to Canada, the Canadian authorities promul-

gated an order that no Asiatic would be admitted who did not come by a continuous journey. British prestige was protected, but the Hindus were completely shut out.

On the whole, Canada has an immigration service that is the admiration and despair of many countries. With so much power vested in the executive branch of the government, the steamship lines are simply told that they must do this thing or that, else their steerage passengers will be denied admission to Canada. Hence the government gets a co-operation from the steamship companies in filtering the immigrant stream before it starts across the sea such as the United States authorities never have been able to secure. And the particular phase of the service which affects the United States to such a large degree is so efficient as to be dangerous—the attraction of so many of our best citizens—unless we can believe that American settlers on the other side will make for more complete commercial intercourse and thus neutralize our loss.





(From National Geographic Magazine, Washington, D. C. Copyright, 1913.)

## XXX

### FUTURE HUMAN MIGRATIONS

**I**T seems reasonable to assume that the end of the migrations of man is still centuries away, and that many a generation will rise and pass beyond earthly concerns before any approximate equilibrium of population will be established. Indeed, it is probable that so long as the world stands economic opportunity will call peoples, as well as individuals, to move from country to country, and from continent to continent. A study of the map of the world reveals how unequally distributed are the people of the earth, even when measured by the opportunities of getting a living. For instance, Asia has a population of fifty per square mile; Europe has a hundred people to the square mile; North America has fifteen; Africa, eleven; South America, seven; and Australia, five.

It must be plain to every person who has a reasonable knowledge of the relative resources of the several continents, that South America has the latent ability to support fifty people

to the square mile as easily as Europe can support a hundred, and if that be true there is room on that continent for three hundred million immigrants and their descendants. It also seems to be evident from a comparison of the relative resources of North America and Asia, that North America, with its up-to-date western-world system of agriculture, manufacturing, and commerce, can support a population of a density equal to that which Asia supports to-day with its out-of-date and antiquated agricultural and industrial methods. If that be true, then North America might yet find room for three hundred million souls. Africa is hot for the most part, and somewhat inhospitable to civilization, and yet the spread of the science of tropical medicine makes it as available a place for human existence as equatorial South America in general, and Panama in particular. Leaving out the Great Sahara, it might support a population of at least twenty-five to the square mile, and that would mean room for an increase in population of more than 150,000,000 souls.

Australia, likewise, might accommodate at least twenty-five to the square mile, and that would mean nearly a hundred million souls could find room on the smallest continent. In other words, with South America and North



America having a population half as dense as that of Europe and equally as dense as that of Asia; and with Australia and Africa having a population only a fourth as dense as that of Europe and half as dense as that of Asia to-day, there would be room for an immigration to those continents of nearly nine hundred million souls. As things stand to-day, Europe and Asia, with about two-fifths of the world's area, support four-fifths of the world's population.

It naturally follows that from these two continents must flow the rivers of humanity which will bring the population of the earth to a common level, if such a level ever is reached. And as long as the other continents set up the bars against the Asiatic as they are doing to-day, not much of the immigration of the future can come from there. Europe for centuries witnessed one tide of humanity after another sweeping westward from Asia—the Celt, the Teuton, the Latin, the Slav—and its population has grown until it is now four times as dense as the rest of the world. And this, in spite of the fact that once the Asiatic tides of humanity ceased to sweep westward, other tides in turn started out of Europe, whose ends are not yet, and which already have

carried perhaps a hundred million souls across the seas to other continents.

Perhaps the most interesting probable development in human migratory matters for the early future is the indicated tide that gives promise soon to be sweeping through the Panama Canal. All the world looks for a boom throughout the Americas as a result of the opening of the great waterway. And especially is this to be true of the Pacific sides of the two continents. Suddenly all this vast region is to be brought five thousand miles nearer to the immigrant embarking ports of Europe, five hundred hours sailing closer for the interchange of commerce. Instead of San Francisco's being as far by water from Liverpool as Sitka is from New York, the City of the Golden Gate will be brought as near to Liverpool as New York now is to Bombay.

When every one believes an era of great development is coming, and squares himself to greet it and to profit by it, nothing can stop its approach. And what a getting ready for the prosperity that is coming is now to be found on the West Coasts of the two Americas! These preparations are not in the shape of such a tremendous rise of values as to discount the future for a generation, but rather in the

shape of a widespread plan to be ready to open up the latent resources of these regions the minute conditions are ripe. It gives no indication of being an era of speculation on things that exist to-day, but rather it promises to seek its reward in the development of latent wealth. With such a concerted, united, common-consent plan for reaping the benefits of the canal, there is going to be almost an unprecedented demand for labour in western Pan-America. There will be no bubbles of speculation to burst, but rich tolls of industry to gather.

Already the big steamship lines are planning to take advantage of the situation. They will have large fleets of immigrant carrying ships, equipped with the excellent accommodations which the "new" steerage provides, ready to carry labourers and their families to these new fields of abundant opportunities for work and good pay. The labour centres of Europe are watching with interest the approaching completion of the Canal, since the tide of immigration that will set through it will mean not only better wages for those who go, but likewise for those who stay behind. The cutting down of the labour supply in Europe has consistently helped the wage-earner who remained behind to get a better wage than he could command before his brethren answered

the wanderlust begotten of economic conditions which called upon them to take up their possessions and join the great caravan of humanity bound to the New World.

An inkling of what the West Coast of the Americas may be able ultimately to do in the way of furnishing homes for a new population is to be gathered from Salvador. This little country, with an area so small that nineteen countries like it could be tucked away within the confines of the single state of California, has a population of 1,707,000 souls. In other words, while California to-day has a population of 2,377,000, according to the Salvadorean standard it could support some forty million people. Any one who has travelled from La Libertad to San Salvador, and from San Salvador via Sonsonate to Acajutla and Zacapa, and who has beheld the hundreds of square miles taken up with volcanic mountains, knows that Salvador has no greater proportion of arable land than California. Furthermore, having seen the tropical system of agriculture and industry, he knows that California can match product with product and resource with resource. The Salvadoreans are the most prosperous people of the West Coast, in spite of the remarkable density of population found there.

Duplicating the population of Salvador, the other countries of Central America could find room for upward of thirty million souls above their present population. Mexico could furnish an abiding-place for nearly 150,000,000 additional people. Measured according to the Salvadorean standard, the Americas ultimately could accommodate a total population equivalent to twice the estimated population of the entire earth to-day. Of course, such a time may never come and certainly will not come for many centuries, but it demonstrates the possibilities of the West Coast.

It seems certain that the opening of the Panama Canal will give new truth to the saying that westward the course of empire takes its way. But that age-long tendency of the unceasing drift of humanity will stop with the Pacific shores of the Americas, for beyond that lies Asia, where the movement began, and where there is no room for new immigration. The indications all point to the Americas and Australia as the regions to which the footsteps of the immigrant will lead for at least a century more. Asia will be shut up within herself, neither offering her hospitality to immigrant races, nor being offered that of the other continents.

After all the resistless tides of humanity



have swept to and fro over the bosom of the oceans and over the lands of the earth in search of new worlds of economic advantage to conquer, there yet may come a time when they will fold their tents and march back to the irrigation ditches from which civilization sprang. Once the earth's supply of coal is exhausted man will be put to it to find power to turn the wheels of the world's industries. The capital that old Sol stored up in the earth through millions of years of shining, exhausted, some means then must be found to replenish the supply. And only one means thereafter can science see to-day—the solar engine, driven by the direct rays of the sun. The solar engine can do its work steadfastly and efficiently only under a hot sun and permanently cloudless sky. So industry will be driven to the sun-burnt waterfronts of the earth. There man will irrigate his fields, run his factories, drive his railroad trains, operate his ships, cool his houses, freeze his ice, and do all of the thousand things that civilization demands, with the heat of the sun. He will be independent of the seasons, for there is but one; he will not have to bother about the rainfall, for he will distill his water and irrigate his fields from the sea. He will not care about the weather, for he will



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be largely indoors and all buildings will be cooled by the same power that burns the sands of the desert. Fanciful? But none the less one of the futures to which the drifting tides of humanity may be sweeping.

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